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# THE INDIAN JOURNAL

## OF

# PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Vol. III

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### EXPANDING GOVERNMENT\*

*H. M. Patel*

WHEN asked to give the first of a series of talks on "Expanding Government", I was struck by one thing about the choice of the subject—not "The Expansion of the Government" or "The Functions of the Government", but "Expanding Government" with the clear implication that it is in the nature of governments to expand, that there is something inexorable about this process of expansion of the government. I must confess that I am one of those who get rather uneasy at the mention of anything which moves on inevitably in a predestined direction and I started asking myself whether there was such a natural law which decrees that governments, like ivy, must grow. I had read the famous exposition of the Parkinson's Law in the *Economist*; but I had dismissed it as a rather amusing but somewhat malicious piece of clever writing. Like most of you, I could also recall the remarks of the Prime Minister about the growth of the administrative jungle in India, a jungle in which some 19,000 chaprasis stalk about now as against only 3,200 before the war; but here again, I had the feeling that there was something more to the growth of the Government than the increase in the number of chaprasis in the Central Secretariat. I, therefore, started with a number of questions : What really has been the magnitude of governmental expansion in India in recent years ? Is this in any sense a unique phenomenon or is it shared by other countries as well ? What have been the factors that are responsible for this growth ? How far is it likely to grow in the future ? And are there any problems which this process of expanding government creates and to which we must devote some thought ?

Take, first, the question of the extent to which the Government in this country has expanded in recent years. This is a question

\* The text of the first lecture, delivered on August 12, in the series of eight public lectures organized by the Institute on the theme of Expanding Government with a view to promoting better understanding and appreciation on the part of the public of the increasing complexity, variety and expansion of Government activities.

to which it should be possible to give a neat little answer—that the expansion of the Government has been at the rate of so many per cent per annum. But unfortunately, you cannot reduce the growth of a jungle to a simple diagram and in this respect at least, the Government in this country does resemble a jungle. But even a jungle has some broad dimensions and it is to these that I wish to draw your attention in the first place. I am afraid I will have to rely on a number of indicators drawn together piecemeal. With all the administrative and other changes that have taken place in the last two decades, a precise picture is not possible. But the broad picture that emerges is clear enough.

In 1939, the total number of employees on the pay-roll of the Central Government, exclusive of members of the armed forces and railway and post and telegraphs establishments, was of the order of 49,000. By 1951 the number had increased to nearly 170,000 and by 1955 it is estimated to have gone up further to about 190,000. In other words, between 1939-51, the civil establishments of the Central Government were virtually quadrupled. According to a census undertaken by the Central Statistical Organisation a few years back, the numbers employed in the civilian establishments of the Central Government showed a slight decline between 1948 and 1951 so that the entire four-fold growth that took place during 1939-51 may be said to have occurred during the war and the early post-war years. The expansion in the Central Government continued even after Independence, but it has been on a much more modest scale than during the second world war. The increase between 1951 and 1955 works out at about 12% or roughly 3 per cent per annum. And if we assume, as there is reason to assume, that the civilian establishments at the Centre showed little change in over-all employment during 1948-51, the rate of increase since 1948 would work out to a little less than 2% per annum.

The figures I have just been quoting refer to the civilian establishments of the Central Government exclusive of railways and post and telegraphs. If all categories of employment provided by the Centre are included, the picture for recent years would not be materially different as far as the rate of growth of the Central Government is concerned. According to figures published regularly by the Central Statistical Organisation, employment in Central Government increased from 577,386 at the end of 1950 to 669,439 at the end of 1956—i.e., an increase of roughly 16 per cent in six years, or roughly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum. These figures are exclusive of employment in railways as the growth of railways is not strictly relevant to the present purpose.

Employment in Indian Embassies and Missions abroad is also excluded; but contrary to the general feeling, total employment in Indian Embassies and Missions abroad is small in absolute terms—some 3,600 on 30th June 1954 inclusive of locally recruited staff.

In a Federal country like India, the Central Government accounts for only a small part of the employment in Government service. The size of the Government should also take into account State Governments and local authorities and for some purposes, it is useful to include employment in government commercial undertakings such as railways. Unfortunately, the statistics on employment in India are woefully inadequate and it is not possible to point to any definitive figures to indicate the growth of governmental activity as a whole in recent years. Many of you will recall the long list of difficulties enumerated by the National Income Committee in their discussion on the measurement of the working force in India and its occupational distribution. No data are available in respect of employment in local governments, port trusts, municipalities etc. on a regular and comprehensive basis. The budgets of the Central and the majority of State Governments give an indication of sanctioned strength of staff; but this information is not made available in a readily useful form. Employment in defence service is not released for security reasons. The population census is taken once in ten years, and even here, the occupational classification leaves much to be desired. A teacher in a government school may be classified either as a teacher or as a government servant. After making a number of qualifications, however, the National Income Committee ventured an estimate that total employment in government administrative services in India (inclusive of armed forces) was of the order of 39 lakhs in 1950-51. If we add to this employment in railways, posts and telegraphs and in other commercial departments of the Government, the total would come to some 55 to 56 lakhs. If we want to get an idea of total employment provided by the Government, we should also take into account the number of teachers, doctors and other professionals employed by the Government as well as the persons employed on government contract work. Unfortunately, we have no estimates of public employment in these sectors. But as a rough guess, it can be said that total employment of all kinds provided by the Government in 1950-51 was not in excess of 70 to 75 lakhs out of a total working force of some 143 million. Public employment in 1950-51 may thus be put at roughly 5 per cent of total employment—*i.e.*, roughly one out of every 20 persons at work was employed by or on behalf of the Government. It is even more difficult to attempt an estimate for later years; but it is, I think, unlikely that

employment in Government today should exceed the figure of 80 to 85 lakhs or some  $5\frac{1}{2}\%$  of the total working force of more than 150 million.

This, then, is the rough picture we get of the expanding government in India—a very considerable expansion during the war and the early post-war years followed by a modest but steady increase in recent years, with the position reached today in which one out of every 18 or 20 persons at work in the country is working for the Government. This is a picture painted, as it were, with a broad brush. But how does it compare with the trends in other countries?

## II

My task in comparing the trends in India with those in other countries is rendered considerably easier by an extremely interesting study published recently by the National Bureau of Economic Research in the U.S.A. on "The Growth of Public Employment in Great Britain". This study surveys the growth of government employment in Great Britain since 1891 with a comparative picture of the position in the United States and I recommend it strongly to any young aspirant for a Ph. D. degree. Any study on the same lines for India would, I am sure, earn a doctorate degree at any University in this country.

Let me mention some of the salient facts that emerge from the study I am referring to. In 1950, some 11% of the total working population in Great Britain was employed in the civilian branches of the Central and the local Governments. If armed forces are included, the share of government employment in total employment in Great Britain was 14% and if the nationalised industries and services are also taken into account, this share works out to as much as 24.3 per cent. Thus nearly one out of every four persons employed in Great Britain in 1950 was employed by the Government in the all-inclusive sense of the word. It is this figure which should be compared with the rough figure I gave some time back for India where one out of every eighteen to twenty persons at work is employed at present by the Government. Even if we make some allowance for the acts of denationalisation since 1950 in Great Britain, the fact is clear that relatively to total employment, employment in Government service in Great Britain accounts for a much larger proportion than in India. If the experience of the U.K. is any guide, therefore, we can look forward to quite a considerable expansion of Government in this country notwithstanding the expansion that has already taken place. Surprisingly, the present position in India where some 5 or  $5\frac{1}{2}\%$  of the working force may be estimated to be in Government service compares

with the situation in Great Britain at the beginning of the present century when 5.8% of total employment in the U.K. was provided by the Government. Even in the U.S. for which the figures are not strictly comparable, the share of the Government in total employment was 4.7% as early as 1900 and had risen steadily to more than 12 per cent by 1950. In absolute numbers total government employment in the U.S. in 1950 was nearly six times as great as in 1900—or nearly five times as great as in 1900 if defence forces are excluded.

I have chosen the examples of the U.K. and the U.S.A. as they show a picture of expanding government over a fairly long period. International comparisons are always somewhat misleading. But I think the conclusions I am driving at are unmistakable. The phenomenon of expanding government is universal and long-standing in character. It is by no means confined to India or to the period of the second world war. The present position in India compares roughly with that in the U.K. and the U.S. several decades ago so that a further sizeable expansion of the government relatively to the rest of the economy would seem to be a certainty if historical comparisons have any meaning at all.

What are the factors that have been responsible for the almost ubiquitous growth of the Government in the last fifty or sixty years? I shall come a little later to the special factors that have been in operation in India over the last two decades or so. But the phenomenon of expanding government is universal enough to demand a general explanation.

Essentially, I think, the growth in the functions and size of governments is a manifestation of two factors: of the growing complexity of modern life and of our growing awareness of the dignity and rights of human beings as human beings. I am aware that it is something of a paradox to explain the growth of governments in terms of greater awareness of the importance of the individual. The habit of thinking of the State as something in opposition to the individual is perhaps natural for the present generation which has witnessed so much cruelty and carnage unleashed in the name of the almighty State. But put in its proper historical perspective, I think it has to be recognised that the growing functions of the State everywhere are in part at least a manifestation of the general increase in social awareness. We are not content today with poor laws and the means test—the stern morality of Victorian days which explained poverty and misfortune largely in terms of individual short-comings is a thing of the past. Private charity is no longer as respectable as it used to be. Citizens of modern States demand certain minimum things as a matter

of right. Two world wars and the common sacrifices demanded by them have given impetus to the feeling that those who must be prepared to die for the State have the right to insist that while they live, they must live tolerably well. The growing responsibility of the State or the Government for social security and for welfare measures—health, education, recreation facilities, cultural activities, old age pensions and so on—is one of the most important factors in modern life. Whatever may be the differences in the view-point of different persons about the legitimate functions of government in the social and economic sphere, it is, I think, agreed on all sides that social security and a minimum of economic well-being are things which every State must provide to its citizens.

Consider, for instance, the phenomenal growth of the Ministry of National Insurance in the United Kingdom. This Ministry started its career in the first world war when it employed about 3,000 persons. It was disbanded during the inter-war years and revived during the second world war. In 1945, it employed some 5,500 persons and the number grew to more than 35,000 in 1950—a nearly seven-fold increase in five years. Even in the United States, the Government has always taken a serious view of the minimum amenities of life that the State must provide to its citizens, and in one respect at least, it has had an almost unrivalled record in the world. I am referring, of course, to the increasing role played by the U.S. Government in providing free education to its young citizens. The number of persons employed in public educational institutions in the U.S. increased from 483,000 in 1900 to nearly a million and a half in 1950. The corresponding increase in the U.K. was from 150,000 to 330,000. Looked at from another point of view, one out of every forty persons employed in the U.S. in 1950 was employed in public educational institutions whereas in the U.K. the corresponding proportion was one out of every seventy employed persons. My point is that whatever the political professions of a country may be, there are at least some fields in which they all take pride in being the first in the world in providing a minimum of amenities to all its citizens.

It would, however, be a mistake to argue that the expansion of government in recent years has been entirely in response to the growing social awareness of people. It would, I think, be equally mistaken to consider that the growth of governments reflects essentially a change in ideology, from belief in *laissez-faire* to some other belief in Socialism or in the Welfare State or what have you. Changes in ideologies are more often than not a mere rationalisation of changing needs. And in the case of growth of governments, the mounting complexities of modern life have as much to do with it as the impact of changing

ideologies. Governments, like doctors and lawyers, thrive on the misery of others. From time immemorial, it has been recognised that it is the duty of governments to set things right when something is amiss—that they must control and regulate things so that calamities like war and wide-spread starvation are avoided. We would be making a mistake, I think, if we flatter ourselves that the emergence of governments as trouble shooters is something peculiar to our generation. What seems to have changed is that with the growing complexity of the modern industrial system and with the growing interdependence of different countries, the occasions for conflict and disasters have also increased with the result that the State has to make more and more elaborate arrangements merely to keep things on an even keel. Waging of a war—or being prepared to defend yourselves—implies these days a mobilization of armies as well as of supplies for the whole nation. Thanks to the fact that we have all come closer together as nations, diplomacy has become an essential business for every country in the world. To the disasters of nature are now added fluctuations in demand from far off countries and slumps and swings in terms of trade. The economic influences which impinge on the well-being of ordinary men are so complex and so far removed from their ken or control that the State has to step in in many ways to guarantee prices, control credit, negotiate barter deals with other governments and so on. Governments have to reckon with a whole host of uncertainties even if they are interested merely in performing the normal functions of law and order and defence and a measure of protection against unforeseen calamities.

I wonder if the nineteenth century liberals did not themselves dig the grave of their pet child, *i.e.*, *laissez-faire*, by advocating at the same time specialisation and division of labour to the maximum possible extent. When you have a great deal of specialisation, you also have a great deal of interdependence. And with each depending on the other, the chances of conflict increase and so also the need for someone to hold the scales even and to smooth things out. But be that as it may, it is I think clear that the phenomenon of expanding governments is something more than a mere moral or ideological phenomenon, that it is something inevitably linked with the nature of the modern industrial and international system and that to that extent, at any rate, it is an abiding phenomenon.

### III

I have spoken so far in general terms about the factors responsible for the growth of governments. These factors have been in

operation in India also in recent years. But speaking of the last two decades in India, there have been several special factors at work as well and the sequence of events has been in some respects different in this country from, say, that in the U.K.

The big spurt in governmental activity in India came during the second world war. The tradition of *laissez-faire* in this country broke down completely during the war even under foreign rule. With the entry of Japan in war in December 1941 and her initial successes India became an important base of operations, not merely in terms of military strategy but also as a supplier of the materials required for the prosecution of the war. Overnight as it were, the Government of India which till then had exercised only limited administrative functions had to transform itself into an active agency in charge of producing or procuring a large variety of goods. It is in this period that many of Government's activities in the field of promoting industrial development began. In its origin, for example, the present Development Wing of the Central Government is a war-time phenomenon. The procurement of war supplies inevitably led to the problem of war finance and the measures to alleviate the shortage of civilian goods. Looking back, the inflationary impact of the war on the Indian economy was left unnoticed by the then Government of India for an unconscionably long time. It was not until 1943 that the Government realised that there existed a problem of civil supplies in respect of essential commodities. The Department of Industries and Civil Supplies was then created and entrusted with the task of ensuring that prices of consumer goods were held in check. A great many devices of control and regulation were introduced, thereafter, and several of these, such as the textile control and the capital issues control, in a modified form survive till today. The Bengal famine highlighted the situation. The precarious agricultural and industrial base of the economy was also brought out sharply during the war and a beginning was made with the preparation of blueprints for a number of developmental projects which have been taken in hand after the war. The Sindri fertilizer factory was conceived of during the war. In India, the transition from a *laissez-faire* attitude to a net-work of government controls and regulation and even positive participation in economic development was made swiftly during the war. The stage of the Government expanding its functions in the direction of social security or a Welfare State was skipped completely—or almost completely.

The war-time distortions in the economy continued even during the early post-war years with the result that there was no relaxation in the hold of the Government during this period. And with

Independence, a number of new factors emerged giving a fresh impetus to the expansion in Government. Apart from the problems of rehabilitation and of creating the paraphernalia of a parliamentary democracy, the Government of India had of necessity to give a new dimension to some of the traditional functions of a government such as defence and external affairs. Even during the war, the responsibility of the then Government of India for defence was largely a nominal one. Much of the planning for defence was done in London and the Defence Department in New Delhi acted largely as an indentor on the basis of requirements worked out in London. All this had to change after Independence—the responsibility for defence and for organising military supplies became a more real one and the Government had to set afoot a series of plans to promote production at home with a view to strengthening our defence potential. External affairs also acquired an altogether new meaning after Independence.

But the most important departure in regard to the functions of the State in the post-Independence years has been in the sphere of economic policy. I have already indicated the extent to which the traditional *laissez-faire* attitude to economic matters had given way under the stresses and strains of war finance. But with Independence, the responsibility of the State for promoting economic development and economic justice became a firmly established tenet of State policy. This new responsibility which was enshrined in the Directive Principles of the Constitution and the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 received a further recognition with the establishment of the Planning Commission in 1950. A poor country with rapidly increasing population cannot lift itself from the quagmire of stagnation without a planned and integrated effort at raising savings and investment and at spreading the use of better techniques among millions of small and ill-organised producers. Without extensive effort on the part of the State to create the preconditions for enterprise and investment, the economy would for ever remain entangled in the vicious circle of low productivity, low savings, poor techniques and low incomes. That is why the State in India has assumed in recent years the responsibility for creating the basic social and economic overheads of development such as health, educational and research facilities, improved transport and communications, power and irrigation works, credit and marketing and warehousing facilities, community projects and national extension service, marketing boards for handicrafts and small industries and so on. An under-developed country bent on advancing economically has to provide afresh a lot of general amenities and facilities which are taken for granted in more fortunate countries. In the sphere of economic legislation also, we had to erect in a

short-time the kind of super-structure that had existed for a long time in economically more advanced countries. The revision of the Company Law, of laws governing labour-management relations, or the regulation of industry or banks by legislative enactments are all examples of the kind of paraphernalia which most civilised States have created for promoting economic efficiency and justice. But in our case, the legal super-structure had to be created in a comparatively short span of time. More recently, the responsibility of the State in promoting industrial development directly has received an emphatic recognition in the new Industrial Policy Resolution and in the acceptance of a socialist pattern of society as the goal of economic policy. All in all, in economic and social matters, we have been attempting in the last few years to make up for the lag of several generations—a lag created by an attitude of *laissez-faire* on the part of the foreign rulers. What other countries built up by way of economic and social institutions and regulations or by way of basic social and economic amenities over generations, we are trying to build up over a decade or two. It is no wonder then that the functions of the Government and the size of the Government have grown steadily over recent years. The surprising thing is not that the Government has grown in size but that it has grown so little in relation to its expanding functions.

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the expanding functions of the Government since Independence—and one in respect of which there has been a definite new departure from war-time developments—is the responsibility assumed by the State for the cultural renaissance in the country. I am afraid the extent of the cultural revival in recent years has not received the attention it deserves from most of us. But any one who thinks of the activities of the government in the field of art, literature, music, dancing films, theatre, children's books, youth festivals and so on cannot but be impressed by the record of the last ten years in the cultural field. The expansion of the government, then, is not simply a dull and dreary tale of controls and regulations or even of projects and economic planning; there is place in it for a record of determined effort to bring some rhythm and colour and recreation to the life of the toiling masses.

So much for the factors responsible for the growth of the government in recent years. To turn to my next question, how far will this process continue in future? In a sense, I have already answered this question when I gave you a brief resume of the experience of the U.K. and the U.S.A. But apart from historical experience it is clear that while much has been achieved in recent years, we have a long way to travel yet before arriving at even tolerable living conditions for most of our people. The Indian economy has not yet reached that

stage of dynamism when its further steady progress in future can be taken for granted. While a beginning has been made in many directions, we have yet to carry forward our effort in social as well as economic matters and the guiding and directing hand of the State will be needed for many years to come. I wish I could also say that the Government has made satisfactorily rapid progress in the direction of social security. We have made a beginning no doubt with provident funds and medical facilities for the bulk of industrial labour. But, by and large, the provision of security or a minimum of social amenities for all has to wait till sufficiency of production is achieved, so that in one respect at least, the expansion of the government is still largely in the future. Anyone who doubts this can recall the figures I gave some time back about the U.S. and the U.K. and the shocking inadequacy of health and educational facilities in our country today. On the whole, therefore, we can confidently look forward to further expansion of the Government in the years to come.

#### IV

This brings me to the last of the questions I raised in the beginning of my talk : What are the problems or difficulties that are created by the continued expansion in Government and how do we tackle these? The fact that not only has the Government grown in recent years but that it is likely to grow still further in the years to come makes it all the more necessary to examine the problems which are thrown up as a result of the expansion in governmental activity. I am afraid there are no simple solutions to many of these problems and I can do no more than merely hint at the problems.

Broadly speaking, the problems that arise in the wake of governmental expansion may be grouped under two heads : external and internal. By external problems in this context I mean the problems of the relation of government with outside agencies—*i.e.*, parliament, the press and the people. Internal problems relate to the efficiency of the governmental machinery itself in discharging its functions. I shall have less to say on the external problems although, in my view, they are by far the more important and intractable. Most of us, I am sure, do not share the almost psychopathic fear of some people that any expansion in State activity inevitably leads to serfdom. But it must be recognised at the same time that the expansion of governments creates the problem of safeguarding individual freedom, of establishing sufficient communication between the government and those who are affected intimately by its decisions. Public relations, keeping the public informed, being attuned to the changing pulse of the people—all these things assume greater importance as governments

cast their net wide over the life of the people. In parliamentary democracies, certain safeguards are no doubt provided. But parliamentary democracies have their own set of problems—the problem of accountability to the Parliament, for example.

The security of governmental decisions by the parliament is an essential and indeed vital business in a democracy. But with the wide variety of functions that governments perform these days, the procedure for scrutiny must be appropriate to specific activities. It must, on the one hand, ensure the necessary degree of freedom of action for the executive without which efficiency and initiative would be imperilled, and on the other, inspire in it the appropriate sense of responsibility without which a parliamentary system of government would lose its essence. All of you are familiar no doubt with the controversies regarding parliamentary control over the management of public enterprises; these controversies show how very real is the apprehension in the minds of the representatives of the people that bureaucracy is somehow gaining the upper hand, as also how great is the need for understanding the complexities of administration in different fields, in the management of industrial enterprises, in the formulation of economic policy and in the enforcement of controls and regulations which are inseparable from planned development and indeed in every aspect of government. I have no easy solutions to offer; but it is clear that as governments expand, the problem of establishing satisfactory relationships between governments and parliaments assumes a more complicated garb.

In a democratic society, the relations between the government and the press and the people are no less important than those between the government and the parliament. The greater the range of governmental activities and the more rapid the rate of increase of these activities, the greater is the need for a vigorous and independent press to interpret and evaluate the actions of the government. No one who has been in touch with the Indian press in the last decade or so can fail to notice the comparative lack of clarity, vigour and sense of direction and independence in most editorial comments and the absence of critical evaluation of all but the larger issues of public policy. To a certain extent, the responsibility for the failings of the Indian press lies with the government in that the government itself has been unable amidst its myriad preoccupations to maintain an adequate flow of well-digested and analysed information to the press. Many of our pronouncements of policy carry with them little background information regarding the facts and objectives which warrant our policies. To some extent, the inadequacy of trained personnel in the country also makes for the deficiencies of the press. But clearly, this is an

aspect of expanding government which deserves some consideration on the part of those interested in public affairs in the country.

The relations between the people and the government are a perennial problem. The mere forms of democracy do not yield its substance. The proper interplay of governmental leadership and initiative on the one hand and of popular will on the other is a difficult enough business in any case requiring much experience and experimentation. The size and diversity of our country and the lack of education on the part of most of our people do not make our task easier. But the fact that popular reactions in India almost always degenerate into violent agitations or grossly exaggerated accusations of corruption, inefficiency and worse on the part of government servants and even Ministers would suggest that here again there is scope for a careful evaluation of the present state of affairs. An expanding government has to be all the more watchful of its relations with the people who ultimately give meaning to governmental activity in a democracy.

## V

Coming to the internal problems that arise as governments expand, the most important one is that of co-ordination. As students of Indian history, we are all familiar with the tendency of local chiefs to carve out little kingdoms of their own as empires grow. And the same tendency towards departmental independence appears as governments expand. A certain amount of delegation and independence is no doubt essential in any well-run system. But with myriads of departments and agencies and with the growing interdependence of different things, the task of co-ordination—of ensuring that the different aspects of government policy dovetail into a rational and integrated pattern—assumes special importance. The task of co-ordination is particularly difficult in a federation where the party system has not yet crystallised into clear-cut ideological divisions. At the highest level, the joint responsibility of the Cabinet, the National Development Council and the Planning Commission provide the requisite machinery for co-ordination. The National Development Council which is the supreme planning authority in the country has represented on it the Chief Ministers of all the States, the ministers of the Central Cabinet and the members of the Planning Commission. The meetings of this Council provide a useful forum for co-ordination of policies. The formulation of our five year and annual plans and of the annual capital budgets also provide opportunities for co-ordination at the highest level. In the Central Cabinet itself, there are a number of committees to formulate policies on specific matters such as the

Economic Committee, the Oil Committee, the Heavy Industries Committee and so on. For the day-to-day functions of execution of policies, the co-ordination machinery is still somewhat in its infancy in India. In economic matters, the Department of Economic Affairs in the Ministry of Finance is responsible for bringing about the necessary co-ordination. But while nothing is easier than establishing a machinery, the substance of co-ordination can only be achieved when there is a well-established tradition in matters of co-ordination, when a certain blending of outlook and personalities obtains among the co-ordinators and the co-ordinated.

There is the further difficulty that co-ordination pre-supposes a machinery for establishing facts—a machinery which works efficiently, expeditiously and impartially so that the facts are always at hand and seldom in doubt and the differences to be resolved are clear from the outset. This is far from being the case today, partly because of the very pace at which the government is expanding its activities and in part also because of the dilution of quality at the intermediate levels and the dearth of technical personnel with adequate appreciation of administration. In regard to the latter, departments have unfortunately not always been able to resist the temptation to use them—the technical personnel—as lawyers for urging specific points of view rather than as scientists looking at specific problems. But be that as it may, co-ordination is of vital importance in a growing organism. A certain amount of awkwardness and lack of co-ordination is perhaps natural in a period of rapid growth. We all know something of the tantrums of the adolescents whose hearts often run ahead of their minds or vice versa and who do not know how precisely to carry their hands or their heads. And adolescents are highly individualistic creatures. But when all the concessions to human nature are made, pulling together there has to be.

Adequate training facilities is another problem that an expanding government has to face. I am not referring so much to the training required before the period of service as to in-service training or to training on the job. No one can grow into more and more difficult jobs without some apprenticeship, some guidance from more experienced people, some time to sit back and prepare for new assignments. But such is the pace at which government is expanding that those who are in a position to train others have no time to spare and those who are able and energetic enough to want to grow into higher responsibilities cannot be spared even the minimum leisure necessary for equipping themselves. Even for the technical personnel—economists, scientists, engineers, etc.—who are employed by the government, the necessary facilities for refresher courses, study leave etc. cannot be granted on

the scale desirable for want of adequate personnel. This is a matter which deserves careful consideration for without the necessary investment of time and energy on the part of all concerned in training themselves or others, we are bound to remain in a situation where every expansion in governmental activity would find us progressively less prepared in regard to suitable personnel at the higher levels.

## VI

There is another problem which arises as governments expand and which has not so far received adequate attention. I am referring to the problem of the technical personnel in government. With the large number of specialised jobs that governments have to perform these days, it is no longer possible to rely only on general-purpose administrators, however high their calibre may be. It is no coincidence that with the expansion of the government since 1939, the number of economists, statisticians, accountants, legal advisers, engineers, scientists and similar technical personnel employed by the government has increased considerably. The functions of these technicians, the conditions of their recruitment and their terms of service, the relationship between technical and administrative personnel—these and similar problems deserve a great deal of careful consideration. Technicians have come to stay and administrators will circumscribe their own usefulness by studied indifference to them. I hope, on their part, the technicians can see some point in having general-purpose administrators. Controversies about the relative usefulness of the one or the other are as useless and childish as controversies about the respective contribution of the eye or the ear or the nose to human happiness. And yet, it is by no means easy to outline the best possible way of utilizing technicians? Should we distinguish between the different kinds of functions performed by technicians—functions of servicing others, functions of advice and functions of research? Is it a good idea to create a separate service or cadre for each specialised category of technical personnel or should we provide for a dovetailing into the regular administrative cadres at least in some cases? Is it sensible to obtain technical advice on the basis of permanent employment or should we, in the case of advice at the highest level at least, rely mainly on short-period deputations from universities and business houses? Perhaps the answer to these questions—as to most questions—is yes-and-no. We have had some experience of technicians being successfully in charge of the highest administrative posts in some departments and I for one see no harm, in principle, in experimenting further with this idea in suitable cases. It would also be desirable if we separate a little more the functions of advice and

research in government, for even technical advice in day-to-day matters requires a little more than purely technical expertise. There is also need for giving greater security of service to technical personnel at junior levels without impairing the chances of recruiting suitable advisers at higher levels for short periods from outside the government. From time to time, it would also be desirable to recruit technicians into regular administrative cadres—as we have done in connection with our emergency recruitments. There is no justification for a closed shop either in government or in industry at a time when there is general shortage of trained and tried personnel. Our experience in employing technical personnel in large numbers is only over a short period of years. But it would be worthwhile assessing this experience and examining whether all is well with a system which has grown almost at random, often on the basis of purely personal relationships between particular technicians and the people in the government. It should not be difficult to find workable answers to the questions I have raised by assessing our own experience and that of other countries.

I have deliberately kept to the last the one problem which comes most readily to mind when we speak of expanding governments. Granted that the expansion of the government in India corresponds more or less to the growth of legitimate governmental functions, how do we ensure that there is not too much expansion, administrative waste and unnecessary proliferation of bureaucracy? He would be a bold man indeed who would profess that all expansion in the size of our government is justifiable. In a sense, the bigger the government grows the more difficult it becomes to check senseless expansion. The staff created for specific functions tends often to survive long after the functions have ceased to be necessary. The need for co-ordination is nowhere greater than in regard to elimination of waste and duplication. In the absence of proper co-ordination, the tendency naturally grows for everyone to appoint his own staff for all purposes irrespective of the existence of similar staff elsewhere. We have instituted various procedures for exercising a check on unnecessary expansion—the Organisation and Methods Division, Economy Units in Ministries and so on. Paradoxically, these economy measures can themselves be sources of unnecessary expansion unless they are properly conceived. It is possible for the economisers also to proliferate far beyond the needs of efficient administration. Here again, it is not the existence of machinery which is of the essence of the matter but the kind of attitude on the part of everyone that is brought to bear on measures leading to expansion as well as economy. Your economiser is often penny wise and pound foolish. It is not always by appointing,

less paid staff or abolishing posts that effective economy is achieved. Real economy measures must embrace a review of the totality of governmental operations, the procedures for taking decisions, the inter-connections between different agencies. The key to economy again is in co-ordination.

To conclude, the expansion of government—in India or elsewhere—is not all a matter of Parkinson's Law. Dead-wood there undoubtedly is in this process and certainly some empire-building; and we shall have to be ever vigilant for getting rid of the former, and for keeping the latter under rigid control. But there are also other abiding forces that have been at work, forces which originate in man's desire to wrest from the complexity of modern life a secure and satisfactory future for all. The process of expanding government is by no means free from dangers. Nor is it something free from difficulties of its own making. But within limits, expansion is inevitable and desirable. To regard every expansion in government as a sign of inefficiency and waste or, worse still, of infringement of individual liberty would be to betray a gross misunderstanding of the social and other forces in operation in all civilised societies. Let us by all means be ever vigilant about this process of expanding government. The course of wisdom undoubtedly is to regard governments as subservient to human ends—as necessary as we consciously and collectively wish them to be, but circumscribed nevertheless by the ultimate supremacy of the ends in view. But if we as members of modern societies demand of our governments responsibility for ever-growing functions, it would be short-sighted indeed to develop uncritical hostility to expanding governments.



“In administration, as in most things in life, it is not only what one does, but the manner of doing it, that is exceedingly important, especially in dealings with large masses of human beings. Of course, what you do is important enough but the manner of doing is no less..... The administration has not only to be good but it has also to be felt to be good by the people affected.”

—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU  
(in Presidential address at the Third  
General Body Meeting of the I.I.P.A.)

## PROBLEMS OF UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION\*

*C. D. Deshmukh*

THE task of public administration is to carry out the national programmes of development, programmes which are based on the assessment of the needs and resources of the country and which represent a systematic effort to translate into action the goals of social and economic policy prescribed in the Directive Principles of State Policy embodied in the Constitution. What is true of the whole field of development is also true of its various sectors, not the least important of which is education. In their report on the Second Five-Year Plan, the Planning Commission have recognised that the system of education has a determining influence on the rate at which economic progress is achieved and the benefits that can be derived from it. Economic development, they observe, naturally makes growing demands on human resources and, in a democratic set-up, calls for values and attitudes, in the fostering of which the quality of education is an important element. They point out that behind the tasks of development in all its branches, particularly the improvement of education in universities, lie these more fundamental aims and that these values and attitudes would be realised in every-day life in the measure in which they are expressed through educational ideals and practice.

In the field of university administration, the function of the administrative agency is to fulfil the responsibilities vested by the law in the universities. These responsibilities may concern the current range of work or programmes of growth and development. As in the whole national field, the processes of development need review of existing administrative arrangements from time to time, and even apart from the needs of development, a periodical review of administrative arrangements seems essential in order to ensure that the nature of the machinery devised and its quality and efficiency are in perfect accord with the changing circumstances of this dynamic modern work. A recent survey of the "The Organisation of British Central Government—1914-1956" concludes with this observation : "We have seen that the beginning of wisdom in this context is the firm rejection of any belief in the

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\*Reproduced by the courtesy of Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, from the inaugural address delivered, at the Conference on University Administration, on July 30.

possibility of defining a rigid and comprehensive framework of organisation into which every function of Government can be fitted for all time; but we are convinced that within the limits set by the essential need of flexibility the efficiency of the administration can be enhanced by the constant study of the factors influencing the structure of government and by the application of such knowledge as can be distilled from that study."

In the national field, the principal problems which arise in connection with the improvement and strengthening of public administration are firstly problems relating to the achievement of a high degree of integrity, efficiency and economy, and secondly, problems connected with the improvement of the machinery of general administration, particularly that concerned with the development programmes in the districts. But dominating over these problems is the influence of policy on the character of the administration. This involves the choice of goals, determination of priorities and the formulation of sound and feasible programmes, having regard to the availability of resources in the shape of trained manpower. The political executive of the country has to give special attention to the formulation of principles and policies in each field of national activity under a parliamentary democracy as well as to ensure that they are implemented by sustained effort in the public interest.

Devolution of power necessarily plays an increasingly important part in the implementation of complex programmes of action and one of the most important questions connected with administration is that of the devolution of power, accompanied by the minimum safeguards necessary for its proper exercise.

It is likely that as the Second Five-Year Plan proceeds, difficult issues will arise relating less to matters of policy and approach and more to questions of administration and organisation. If the administrative machinery, both at the Centre and in the States, does its work with efficiency, integrity and with a sense of urgency and concern for the community, the success of the Second Plan would be fully assured. Enumerating the administrative tasks before the country, the Planning Commission draw attention to the indispensability of co-ordination in policy and programmes in different sectors of the economy in terms of the objectives and targets set by the Plan. Among the tasks enumerated are, the ensuring of integrity in administration, building of cadres and providing incentives and opportunities for creative service, devising speedy, efficient and economic methods of work, providing for continuous supervision and arranging for objective evaluation of methods and results at regular intervals.

Much that is postulated in regard to public administration will apply to the administrative work in the universities in its narrower sense and it might be of some interest to university authorities to have some idea of the survey of the machinery of public administration promoted by the Government of India in recent years, ending with two reports by Dr. Paul H. Appleby, formerly a Dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University and before that an incumbent of many public assignments.

My immediate purpose in mentioning Dr. Appleby is to draw attention to two of his important recommendations in his first report which were accepted and acted upon without delay by the Government of India. These were : (1) establishment of a special unit, called the Organisation and Methods Division, charged with the responsibility of making administrative studies and proposing improvements; and (2) sponsoring by the Government of an Institute of Public Administration.

The Organisation and Methods unit is in full working order and the Institute of Public Administration is well established, and I would strongly advise the universities to take all possible advantage of these developments and to seek the assistance of these two new institutions for the continuous and systematic improvement of their administrative machinery. Indeed this has already been done by some universities. I have been informed that at the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor of the Jammu & Kashmir University, the administrative system of that university has been studied and reported upon by the Organisation and Methods unit. As regards the Institute of Public Administration, there is a provision for admission of corporate members, and by a wise decision, the Institute authorities have decided to charge a special concession fee of Rs. 50 only to universities, research institutions and service organisations.

Advantage has already been taken of this facility by some seven universities and colleges or other units within universities, who have already been admitted as corporate members of the Institute. Among those, I am glad to notice the names of the Annamalai University, University of Madras, Osmania University, University of Rajputana, Nagpur University, Utkal University and the Punjab University. I very much hope that the other universities will without delay get themselves admitted as corporate members of the Institute of Public Administration and take full advantage of the work which is being developed there in regard to both the theory and practice of public administration.

In the course of its relations with the various universities, the University Grants Commission has come to the conclusion that it will be worth the while for most of the universities to have a thorough

examination made of their internal administrative machinery in order to secure despatch in the carrying out of development plans for which finance is available. It is possible that the problems in this field in the case of universities are not of such a vast and baffling nature as in the case of the far-flung and complex operations of State or Central Governments. There may not be reasons to fear that there are superfluous employees, and charges of prevalence of bribe and favouritism or the deterioration of efficiency may not have the same significance as in the case of Government agencies. Nevertheless, I feel that no opportunity should be lost of streamlining the detailed administration of the offices maintained by the universities.

One of the difficulties experienced by the University Grants Commission in its dealings with the universities is that information sought on various matters cannot be quickly obtained from the universities. There appears to be some bottleneck in university administration which delays or hinders the collection of statistical and other information and despatch of the same to the University Grants Commission. We have found also that reports on the utilisation of grants paid to the universities do not come in regularly and in some cases do not come at all. The U.G.C. office has a long list of cases in which, in spite of reminders, satisfactory information has not been forthcoming. Sometimes this is due to the fact that grants are not in fact utilised as they should be but more often it is because of the inadequacies of the administrative machinery in the university concerned.

We have found it almost impossible to prepare up-to-date statements on such matters as the number of students on the rolls of universities, the number of teachers, the number of persons who apply for admission to the various classes and the numbers admitted, etc.

It would appear that none of our universities has a properly developed statistical department and that the records and accounts of universities are not maintained in a manner that would enable abstraction of required information quickly and effectively. It would also appear that the information and public relations side of university administration needs development.

## II

In the context of university education, however, the word "administration" has a far greater content and significance than in the case of Government's operations. Even in the case of the latter, the efficiency or otherwise of the administrative machinery is, in the ultimate analysis, a function of the structure of the State itself and the division of the constitutional responsibility, leading ultimately to accountability and answerability of all organs of government to the citizen. Structure

determines in many ways the whole nature of the administrative process and has in operation much determining influence on general policy. Structure determines where responsibility lies, how and to what extent responsible and controllable delegation takes place, what emphasis should be given to various objectives and how progressive responsibility for decision-making should be distributed.

The prevailing structure of public administration in India in the above sense is one of co-ordination rather than administration, as Dr. Appleby has pointed out, which provides for no continuous line of responsibility for administrative action as between the States and the Centre.

In a sense, the same dichotomy characterises the constitution and control of universities and it is particularly noticeable in the field of university finance. In the university world, in line with experience elsewhere except for a few of the oldest universities, while the main financial assistance or the significant portion of it comes from the State for current expenditure, for development it is derived from the Centre, and implementation of programmes and executive action is almost overwhelmingly with autonomous university authorities. This is one reason why administration is so uniquely important in the case of universities. From the point of view of the States or the Centre, grants-in-aid are often accompanied by conditions to be fulfilled. They are apt to become customary and continuing and not increasing steadily and largely in amount.

The University Education Commission of 1948-49, in chapter 13 of their report, dealt appropriately, therefore, not with university administration as with constitution and control. They had noticed that there were universities then whose administration was unsatisfactory, even in purely academic matters, such as appointment of examiners and awarding of degrees, the procedures and standards in this respect being suspect. They recognised the damage that was caused by this state of affairs and proceeded to outline the kind of constitution for a university which offered scope for achieving and maintaining the necessary improvement. Dealing with the limits of controls, they proclaimed their belief that more control from outside was no way to achieve reform in university education and went on to say that on the contrary a great many of the evils then noticed arose from the fact that most of the universities had no real autonomy whatever, and had proved incapable of resisting pressure from outside. They held that the universities should be sensitive to enlightened public opinion; they should never let themselves be bullied or bribed into actions that they know to be educationally unsound or worse still, motivated by nepotism, faction and corruption. They asserted that

the right public policy was to give a university the best possible constitution, securing among other things, the inclusion of wisely chosen external members on its governing body and then to leave it free from interference.

Almost a decade has elapsed since the University Education Commission submitted their report in August 1949, and the Constitution of India promulgated in the beginning of 1950 embodies many of the recommendations made by the Commission in regard to the relation of universities with State and Central governments. While in List I of the Seventh Schedule (*i.e.*, the Union List), co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions is the responsibility of the Union Government, in addition to the whole responsibility for what is known as the Central Universities, as well as institutions for scientific and technical education declared by Parliament by law to be institutions of national importance and financed by the Government of India wholly or in part, the responsibility for education including university education, subject to the aforesaid provisions of List I, was vested in State governments. Indeed, it was in exercise of the legislative powers vested in the Union under entries 63 and 66 of List I of the Seventh Schedule that the University Grants Commission Act was passed by the Central legislature vesting in the University Grants Commission various powers and functions for the promotion and co-ordination of university education and for the determination and maintenance of standards of teaching, examination and research in universities. Funds have been placed at the disposal of the University Grants Commission or have been allotted under the Plan for the purpose of enabling the Commission to discharge these functions. The question of administration of universities in its broader sense is, therefore, one of supreme interest to the University Grants Commission.

It is for this reason that the Commission has ordered a thorough examination of the constitutions of the various universities to be made with a view firstly to finding out how far they deviate from the several recommendations made in this behalf by the University Education Commission, and secondly, to determining by fresh review and consideration how far such deviations are found to be appropriate in the present circumstances and how far, in the light of experience gained so far, modifications seem to be called for.

We are aware of some instances of administrative break-down in universities because of conflict between the various "authorities" of the university and because of lack of co-operation amongst the university bodies and university staff. Sometimes the situation

becomes so bad that even students are involved and the academic and moral standards of the university suffer grievously. It is difficult to put one's finger exactly on the cause of such a situation. It certainly has something to do with the character and attitudes of university men and women. But it may also be due to defects in the organisation of the university and the excessive fragmentation of authority. As stated earlier, the University Grants Commission is having an analysis prepared of the Acts of incorporation of all our Universities to see in what respects they differ from the model recommended by the Radhakrishnan Commission, and to discover if these variations have any connection with any problems of discipline or efficiency that may have been experienced in some of the universities. But even on a superficial observation of the situation, there appears to be sufficient ground for suspecting that the difficulties in a number of universities might be due to factors such as these:

- (a) the Vice-Chancellor does not have adequate powers;
- (b) the University Councils are too large and are constituted on representative principles which involve electioneering and encourage party politics;
- (c) the Vice-Chancellor is appointed by the Chancellor on his own initiative and does not enjoy the confidence of the members of the university;
- (d) the Vice-Chancellor's tenure of office is too brief;
- (e) there are too many external members in the Syndicate (or Executive Council) and Senate (or Court) of the university.

The co-relation between any particular element in a university Act and any problem of administration in the university is difficult to establish but where a particular factor has been known to be a cause of trouble, it would obviously seem desirable to remove or modify that factor.

### III

In this connection, it is, I think, worthwhile casting a glance at the contemporary scene in the university world outside India, particularly, Britain. As regards the framework of government *i.e.*, in the matter of organisation and administration, British universities have features which are somewhat unique. In the U.S.A., the University President and a Board of Trustees usually constitute the governing body; they rely only to a limited degree upon faculty recommendation and representation. At the other extreme are most of the universities in other

countries, which are dependent upon central ministries of education *i.e.*, they are a part of the national education system. In Britain, the university system has and is formed by democratic practices perhaps to a much larger extent than anywhere else.

In the older universities of Britain, such as Cambridge and Oxford, the government consists of three bodies which reflect their origin in name and function: (1) The Senate at Cambridge or the Convocation at Oxford; (2) The House of Regents at Cambridge or the Congregation at Oxford; (3) The Council of the Senate at Cambridge or the Hebdomadal Council at Oxford. Essentially, the forms of organisation of the two universities are the same except that at Cambridge the greater power of the professoriate somewhat lessens the power of the Council of the Senate in favour of what is called the General Board of Faculties. Cambridge and Oxford have no local connection, comparable to the modern universities. They are national, indeed international institutions, and are faced with the problem of keeping in touch with a widely scattered constituency. There is a system in vogue of outside representation upon the Appointments Board and the Delegacy for Extra-Mural studies which shows that when necessary a method can be evolved for co-operation with the outside world. Apart from this the only means whereby general outside opinion has been able to influence the working of these ancient universities have been periodical Royal Commissions, appointed on the request of the universities themselves.

The chancellorship at both the universities is honorary and the position is occupied by a distinguished national figure, elected by the combined vote of faculty members and recognised alumni. The chief executive is the Vice-Chancellor. A member or head of one of the constituent colleges, is nominated by the Chancellor or elected by the heads of the colleges. The Vice-Chancellor holds his office usually for three years and is not re-elected at Oxford, while at Cambridge the Vice-Chancellor is elected for a two-year term from two candidates nominated by the Council of the Senate. At neither institution is the Vice-Chancellor given power to intervene directly in the affairs of the university, save through his "speakership" in Council and his membership on committees. He tends to be an instrument of administration, rather than an instigator of it, but his executive functions, it is held by competent observers, are none the less enfeebled thereby.

In response to organisational and administrative structure, all colleges are an inseparable part of the university to which they belong but each one has its own property, its own government, and its own organisation and administration. Degrees are awarded by the university, but the student is "sent down" only by the college. The supervision

of a student's individual work falls within the jurisdiction of the college, but the course of study and the arrangement of lectures, laboratory work and examinations are the responsibility of the university. Although colleges are obliged to pay taxes to the university, they may not receive grants directly from the government. All colleges have their private libraries, but the university maintains the central library and the principal museums, laboratories, administrative offices, gardens and other properties acquired in its name.

The newer universities in Britain are subject to a dual, lay and academic, control through a Court of Governors, a Council, and an Academic Senate. The Court of Governors consists of representative graduates of the university and other important individuals who have a special interest in university policy. The Council is the practical governing agency made up of the administrative heads of the university, members of the faculty nominated by the Academic Senate, lay representatives appointed by the Court of Governors and members at large. Chosen by the Court of Governors, the Council functions in a somewhat similar fashion to an American Board of Trustees. The Senate, composed entirely of faculty members, is concerned chiefly with academic affairs; it also advises the Council. Faculty Boards, which are exclusively internal bodies, handle a mass of academic detail and assist in directing the corporate life of the university. Thus while the system of the government at the old universities might be termed 'direct democracy', at the newer universities, it has been called a combination of an oligarchy and a representative democracy.

Certain unique features characterise Scottish university organisation, which it is not necessary to enumerate here. There is, however, one feature which deserves a mention and that is the Rector, which appointment preserves one of the most ancient traditions of university government. The Rector is elected every three years by the matriculated students. The post is regarded as a very high honour, elections are often keenly contested, and the most distinguished statesmen and men of letters are proud to be nominated. It is part of the Rector's duty to watch over the interest of the student body.

On the Governing Council of the modern universities, there is a wide representation of community interests, including members of the local educational authorities, who work with the National Ministry of Education on behalf of the lower schools. The judgement pronounced with some authority in this connection is that the structure is weighted with lay representation and that the new universities tend to grant little voice to academic members in matters of administration, the extent and continuity of which is assured chiefly by a quasi-permanent Vice-Chancellor.

Since Vice-Chancellors are not chosen especially for their administrative competence or money raising ability but because of their demonstrated leadership among men of their own profession, they have to spend a great deal of time learning administrative duties while in office. Although, as stated above, at Cambridge and Oxford the term of office of the Vice-Chancellor is brief, it is felt that short appointments are perilous from many points of view, since incumbents are unable to win administrative bodies to the support of long-term policies. It is recognised, however, that there is some value in restricting any tenure which would tempt one man to accumulate arbitrary power. A solution has been suggested in the establishment of a dual leadership whereby the Vice-Chancellor would handle major matters of policy and a President or Principal would handle day-to-day administration on a long-term or even permanent basis.

The relation of the teaching staff to the university administration is more intimate at Oxford and Cambridge than in the civic universities of Britain. The administrative bodies of the teaching staff, namely, Congregation at Oxford and House of Regent at Cambridge actually elect the governing councils. At Cambridge, all alumni and faculty members may legally participate in administration. At both universities the administrators are members of, and are responsible to the entire teaching body. In theory, at least no system could be founded more on the rights and dignity of the teacher, but it is acknowledged that the consequent diffusion of power and responsibility tends to restrain action. On the other hand, the advantage is that measures once adopted are likely to be of more significance and more permanence. Whether this by itself is a desirable feature is a matter for consideration in view of the necessity for rapid decisions in response to the forces of national development. These forces may well demand an administrative structure better suited to carry such decisions out. An intermediate position has been adopted in the University of London, where the administration of finances is strongly influenced by the university Senate, which controls educational policies. The Court is the supreme financial authority, but the Senate has dominant representation. The functions of these two bodies are mutually exclusive, but their overlapping membership helps to wed the instructional end of university practice with the means of carrying it on.

There is considerable disagreement among British university leaders as to what shall constitute the ideal pattern of organisation and administration, and there is a wide "spectrum of opinion". This diversity of opinion is of course related to the conception of the fundamental aims and practices of university *i.e.*, all university practices are

a reflection of the university's collective philosophy of education. Therefore, in Britain, as elsewhere, much of the controversy on educational administration is hardly more than extension of the general argument on the purpose of a university.

Perhaps the most vital issue originates in the theory of the separation of the university and the society. George F. Kneller, on whose book on "Higher Learning in Britain", I have drawn extensively, points out that the late Professor Laski held that the older universities were too oblivious of their social responsibilities. Admitting that the larger issues of policy should arise out of recommendations of the members of the teaching staff, Laski wanted greater lay participation in both legislation and administrative control and advocated the representation of all segments of society on the governing bodies of universities. But even among dignitaries of the civic universities of Britain there is a difference of opinion in regard to the desirability of lay representation. While one would go so far as to assert that lay representation is endemic to the very existence of the civic universities, because the policy of university administration must be in keeping with the nation's needs, others equally distinguished are convinced that lay representation usurps the proper prerogatives of the university. It is worthwhile here to remind ourselves that the latter body of opinion has immediate relation to the establishment and administration of what are called 'redbrick' universities in Great Britain, dating from an age when British cities boasted of their prosperity rather than of their bomb damage. National needs and requirements in India have naturally other dimensions and economic and social urgencies than in the cities of Britain. In such a context, some democratic representation will probably be a source of strength to a university, so long as a clearly defined distinction is drawn between what is a proper subject matter for discussion in open sessions, what is considered policy and what is judged to be operational detail and what is to be kept confidential. It would seem desirable therefore, to bend every effort towards enhancing the utility of the lay representation so as to strengthen its potentiality to serve the university and the nation through the university. As Sir Frederick Ogilvie has pointed out, the dual system of administration in modern universities has its moments of friction, but it at least ensures that the educational essentials are the responsibility of the academic staff alone. It can enlist administrative experts who know their business and can save the professors' time and energy for theirs.

Kneller draws attention to what he considers to be two serious defects in the organisation and administration of modern universities. One is that the majority of faculty members below the grade of professors have no legal avenue of direct participation in university

government and thus derive only an imperfect knowledge of what transpires and can little influence what is discussed in the deliberative organs of the university. The other is that the lay representatives may be unsuited to the task of supervising higher learning; also, that they are too often subject to pressures of non-academic nature. The second defect implies the tendency of community control to vitiate the strength of pure scholarship and traditional university teaching by a natural but overzealous desire to satisfy community needs. The university is then called to service, not for the more sublime and enduring ends of learning, but for tasks more appropriate, perhaps, to a technical or training college. It is also felt by competent observers that the concentration of power in the hands of laymen, administrators, and senior academic personnel blocks efforts to promote corporate life among students and teachers. Unless imbued with the passion for the education of persons, administrators prefer to concentrate on the more visible and tangible elements of university growth. The dangers to be guarded against are inhibited corporate growth, administrative isolation, overspecialized procedures, inadequate faculty representation and excessive lay control. All these matters need careful examination in the light of modern environment and the needs of a modern state, and on their satisfactory solution will depend satisfactory implementation of plans for university growth.

#### IV

A preparatory conference of Representatives of Universities held at Utrecht by the UNESCO in August 1948 brought out the chronic controversy in regard to the fundamental question: What is the role of the university? At one extreme were those who believed that the function of the university was the training of an 'elite by an elite'; at the other were those who believed that universities should serve all young people who could benefit from some kind of higher education after leaving school. The United States, and to a somewhat lesser degree the British Dominions, represented the latter point of view; France, and to a varying degree other European countries, represented the former. The East and the Middle East, still in the early stages of university development, it was thought then had not yet had to face this issue. I am afraid the issue is staring us in the face today and we have to make up our minds in regard to which ideology we shall adopt. Having regard to the fact that we shall be endeavouring to strain to the utmost limit our total resources in an all-out effort to develop the national economy and that there will be no slacks left or decorative fringes on border embroideries, I have no doubt myself that we shall have to restrict university education by and large to the number of university educated men and women that the country

will be needing from time to time and that as regards the rest, the nation will have done its duty by expanding and extending as well as diversifying secondary education, especially of a technical character. It is only then that the States and the Centre will be able to sustain adequately the expanding net-work of universities. It is then alone that firm and dependable arrangements can be made for adequate financing of university education.

## V

In conclusion, I should like to observe that there is an attempt to read too much in the terms 'democracy' and 'autonomy' as applied to universities. I hope I have made it abundantly clear that no subordinate authority or no creature of the legislation such as a university can claim unhampered democracy or autonomy in the sense bordering on sovereignty as against the people of the country, that is to say the citizen who pays for the university and has a set of purposes which he expects the university to fulfil. The essence of democracy in a constitutional sense is a chain of representation and responsibility stretching from the citizens to the organ of administration, plus as much lime-light for the deliberations of policy and the review of the operations of government as is prudent in the prevailing circumstances. These conditions do not exist and cannot in their nature exist in the case of universities, and the ultimate control of the citizen on a university together with all its implications must continue.

Public Administration is policy making and policy making is politics. As an eminent expert on public administration has observed in a volume entitled 'Policy and Administration', "If admission that this is true seems to exalt administration, it must be seen that the emphasis on politics subordinates the administrator, exalts the politicians, and thereby exalts the citizen. Public administration is policy-making. But it is not autonomous, exclusive or isolated policy-making. It is policy-making on a field where mighty forces contend, forces engendered in and by the society. It is policy-making subject to still other and various policy makers. Public administration is one of a number of basic political processes by which the people achieve and control governance."

There is, however, an important caveat to be entered here and that is that the 'politics' governing university affairs must not be of the wrong type. That is, it must not be the invasion of university affairs by political or other cliques by the open-door of democratic election or by political nomination with the object of furthering the private ends of a party or a clique, for an exclusive control over privilege, patronage and power and not for any identifiable ends of promoting the welfare of the nation.

## THE PLANNING COMMISSION

*P. P. Agarwal*

**I**N some ways the central Planning Commission is a unique institution; and in the sphere of governmental organization there has hardly been any recent development comparable, in its practical importance or in its general significance, from the point of view of the "science of public administration", to the growth of the Planning Commission. It is the chief *staff* agency—the nerve centre of national thinking—on matters of planning and development. It has, from time to time, also undertaken some *line* functions, newly emerging from national planning, *e.g.*, general direction and supervision of community projects, enlistment of public co-operation in the implementation of the Plan, etc. The Community Projects Administration was, however, always regarded as a sister organization in the process of development, and it has since been separated as an independent Ministry of Community Development. Though the Planning Commission is an advisory organ of government, it has come to exercise significant influence over the formation of public policies even in matters other than of development and its advisory role in a way extends over the entire administration.

The Commission has been established as a multi-member body and not as a usual single-administrator department. The very composition of the Commission ensures effective liaison with Government. Though the Commission is a staff agency to advise Government in matters of planning and development, Government itself is represented on the body of the Commission. The Prime Minister is the Chairman of the Commission and its members include three Cabinet Ministers—the Minister of Planning, the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Defence. The Cabinet Secretary functions as Secretary to the Commission. The Deputy Chairman of the Commission, and the members concerned, are invited as and when necessary to attend the meetings of the Cabinet and its Sub-Committees. Important economic issues and problems arising in the Ministries are generally discussed in the Planning Commission before they are considered in the Cabinet. Officers concerned in the Ministries are also present at the meetings of the Commission. Thus there is a regular stream of ideas and suggestions flowing from the Commission to the Government and vice versa. This not only imparts an element of realism to the recommendations of the Commission but also inducts a new vitality into the administration.

The Commission embodies a democratic approach to national planning, perhaps the first of its kind in the under-developed countries of South East Asia. Both in the formulation and the execution of the five year plans, increasing stress is being laid on people's co-operation and participation. In fact, the second plan has been built, as far as possible, from the bottom upwards. Planning from below, with a view to taking into account the needs and aspirations of all the participants in national life, has led to the adoption, by the Planning Commission, of a variety of co-ordinating devices and procedures, and the Commission today is in many ways a good example of effective co-ordination, both horizontal and vertical, in the sphere of governmental activity.

Another feature of the Commission lies in the combination it has achieved between general-administrators and subjects-specialists. The Commission is a 'board' type of advisory organ; its members are eminent men from different walks of public life, each of them having special experience or knowledge of certain fields of activity. They are assisted not only by administrators drawn from the civil services but also by subjects-specialists, the work of the latter being coordinated and integrated by the former.

In matters of organizational growth and development the Commission exemplifies in its own way a well-known general principle, viz., the nature and form of organization are determined by its objectives. On the whole the Commission has shown a fair degree of organizational and operational flexibility, consistent with stability, within the framework of a normal government department.

## II

The origins of the Planning Commission lie in the need for planned development as a means of raising living standards in the country, which assumed importance in the years preceding the second world war. Much useful ground in the field of national planning was broken by the National Planning Committee which was set up in 1938 by the Indian National Congress, with Shri Jawaharlal Nehru as its Chairman. The various sub-committees appointed by the main committee had submitted 16 final and 10 interim reports by the beginning of the second war. The political and other developments which followed the commencement of the hostilities interrupted the work of the Committee. In 1944, the Government of India established a separate Department of Planning and Development and, at its instance, the Central as well as the Provincial Governments prepared a number of development schemes to be undertaken after the war. Problems of

# THE ORGANISATION OF PLANNING COMMISSION

AS ON 1-11-55

PEOPLE

PARLIAMENT

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL  
PRIME MINISTER (CHAIRMAN)  
STATE CHIEF MINISTERS AND MEMBERS OF THE PLANNING COMMISSION

CENTRAL (OTHER MINISTERS)

MINISTER FOR PLANNING

(OTHER MINISTERS)

PRIME MINISTER (CHAIRMAN)

DEPUTY MINISTER  
PARL. SECY

SHRI CLTRIVEDI (MEMBER)

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA (MEMBER)

DR. J. C. GHOSH (MEMBER)

SHRI V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI DEPUTY CHAIRMAN

PLANNING

SECRETARY CABINET & PARL.

CHIEF (NATURAL RESOURCES)

Jt. SECY (PLANNING)

Jt. SECY. (CO-ORDINATION)

MEMBER-SECRETARY R.P.C. AND CHAIRMAN P.E. BOARD

CHIEF LAND REFORMS  
DIRECTOR HOUSING AND REGIONAL PLANNING  
ASSTT. CHIEF SOCIAL WELFARE  
DY CHIEF ASSTT. CHIEF NATURAL RESOURCES

DIRECTOR LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT  
O.S.D. PROHIBITION  
U.S. (E.S.) PUBLIC CO-OPERATION  
DIRECTOR PUBLIC MANAGEMENT STUDIES

CHIEF ASSTT. CHIEF HEALTH AND LOCAL SELF GOVT.  
DY SECY (CO-ORD.) U.S. (CO-ORD.) TECH. ASSISTANCE  
DIRECTOR ASSTT. CHIEF EDUCATION  
O.S.D. SCIENTIFIC AND INDST. RESEARCH  
PARLIAMENTARY BUSINESS

DY. SECY. (CO-ORD.) U.S. (CO-ORD.) CO-ORDINATION  
DY. SECY. (CO-ORD.) U.S. (ACCTS.) LOCAL DEVELOPMENT WORK  
DY. SECY. (CO-ORD.) U.S. (CO-ORD.) FOREIGN AID  
DY. SECY. (ADMIN.) U.S. (ADMIN.), U.S. (ACCTS.), U.S. (P.E.O.) ADMINISTRATION  
DIRECTOR (INF.) INFORMATION, PUBLICITY AND PUBLICATION

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC CO-OPERATION

CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC CO-OPERATION

CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF M.P.S.

PLANNING FORUMS

RESEARCH PROGRAM COMMITTEE

LAND REFORMS  
LABOUR  
HOUSING & REGIONAL PLANNING

HEALTH  
EDUCATION  
SCIENTISTS

COMMITTEE ON PLAN PROJECTS

PROGRAM EVALUATION ORGANISATION

# ART OF THE MISSION

E

NT

CABINET  
(OTHER MINISTERS)

MINISTER  
FOR  
DEFENCE

SHRI  
V. K. KRISHNA  
MENON  
(MEMBER)

MINISTER  
FOR  
FINANCE

SHRI  
T. T. KRISH-  
NAMACHARI  
(MEMBER)

SHRI  
K. C. NEOGY.  
(MEMBER)

PROF. P. C.  
MAHALANOBIS  
(DEFACTO  
MEMBER)

COMMISSION

PROGRAMME ADVISERS (3)  
TO KEEP REGULAR  
LIAISON WITH STATE  
GOVERNMENTS AND TO  
ADVISE ON PROGRESS  
OF IMPLEMENTATION

SECY. (CULTURE) (PLAN CO-ORDN.)    Jt. SECY.    CHIEF (ECONOMIC)    ADVISER (PLANNING)

TT. CHIEF  
AGRICULTURE  
CO-OPERATION

SECY. (P.C.)  
T. CHIEF (P.C.)  
CO-ORDINATION

DIRECTOR  
TT. CHIEF  
PROGRAMME  
ADMINISTRATION

DIRECTOR  
INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
AND DEVELOPMENT

ASSTT. CHIEF  
ECONOMIC, FINANCE  
AND RESOURCES

DY. SECY. (P.C.)  
O.S.D.  
VILLAGE AND SMALL  
SCALE INDUSTRIES

DIRECTOR  
ASSTT. CHIEF  
INDUSTRY, TRADE  
AND MINERALS

ASSTT. CHIEF  
TRANSPORT & COMMUNI-  
CATIONS INCLUDING  
BROADCASTING

REHABILITATION

CHIEF  
STATISTICS  
AND SURVEYS

CHIEF  
SCIENTIFIC & TECH. MAN-  
POWER & PERSPECTIVE  
PLANNING

ECONOMISTS

COMMITTEES,  
PANELS  
AND OTHER  
BODIES

by Q. Kaushik

planning were reviewed towards the end of 1946 by the Advisory Planning Board which was appointed by the Interim Government of India. An important recommendation of the Board was the appointment of a Planning Commission to devote continuous attention to the whole field of development so far as the Central Government was concerned.

During the immediate post-war years, the Centre as well as the Provinces initiated schemes of development, but experience showed that progress was hampered by the absence of adequate co-ordination and of sufficiently precise information about the availability of resources. With the integration of the former Indian States with the rest of the country and the emergence of new geographical and economic facts, a fresh assessment of the financial and other resources and the essential conditions of progress became necessary. Moreover, inflationary pressures inherited from the war, balance-of-payments difficulties, the influx into India of several million persons displaced from their homes and occupations, deficiencies in the country's food supply aggravated by partition and a succession of indifferent harvests, and the dislocation of supplies of certain essential raw materials places the economy under a severe strain. The need for comprehensive planning based on a careful appraisal of resources and on an objective analysis of all the relevant economic factors became imperative. It was considered that these purposes could best be achieved through an organisation free from the burden of day-to-day administration, but in constant touch with the Government at the highest policy level. Accordingly the Planning Commission was set up by the Government of India in March 1950.

In defining the functions of the Commission, consideration was also paid to the directive principles of state policy laid down in the Constitution in regard to the securing of social and economic justice. The functions of the Planning Commission were declared as follows :

- (1) To make an assessment of the material, capital and human resources of the country, including technical personnel, and to investigate the possibilities of augmenting such of these resources as are found to be deficient in relation to the nation's requirements;
- (2) To formulate a Plan for the most effective and balanced utilisation of the country's resources;
- (3) To define the stages in which the Plan should be carried out and to propose the allocation of resources for the due completion of each stage on a determination of priorities;

- (4) To indicate the factors which are tending to retard economic development, and to determine the conditions which, in view of the current social and political situation, should be established for the successful execution of the Plan;
- (5) To determine the nature of the machinery which would be necessary for securing the successful implementation of each stage of the Plan in all its aspects;
- (6) To appraise from time to time the progress achieved in the execution of each stage of the Plan and to recommend the adjustments of policy and measures that such appraisal might show to be necessary; and
- (7) To make such interim or ancillary recommendations as might be appropriate on a consideration of the prevailing economic conditions, current policies, measures and development programmes, or on an examination of such specific problems as may be referred to it for advice by Central or State Governments or for facilitating the discharge of the duties assigned to it.

The Commission at present consists of eight members—the Prime Minister (Chairman), four full-time members (including the Deputy Chairman) and the Ministers of Planning, Finance and Defence. The Planning Minister is assisted by a Deputy Minister and a Parliamentary Secretary. The Statistical Adviser to the Cabinet is an additional *de facto* member of the Commission.

All the members of the Commission work as a body, but for convenience, each member has charge of one or more subjects and directs the study of problems in these fields. The Deputy Chairman is primarily concerned with matters of general co-ordination and administration. The Minister for Planning has been allocated certain subjects, like any other member; but he is also responsible for the Commission as a whole to Parliament and the Central Cabinet. Important proposals which have financial implications or which might have repercussions on economic policy are referred to Member (Finance) in addition to the cases submitted to him as a member of the Commission.

All cases involving policy are submitted for consideration at one of the meetings of the Commission. The cases to be considered by the Commission as a whole include recommendations in regard to the formulation and progress of the five year and annual plans, adjustments in the plans, matters involving departure from the plan-policies,

advice to a Central Ministry in a matter to be placed before the Cabinet, important cases involving disagreement with a Central Ministry or a State Government or difference of opinion between two members of the Commission, and any policy matter relating to the internal organisation and methods of work.

The office of the Planning Commission is headed by a Secretary who is also Secretary to the Cabinet. The office consists of three main parts : (1) Programme Advisers, (2) General Secretariat, and (3) Technical Divisions.

Assistance to the members of the Commission in matters requiring field study and observation is provided by a team of three senior officers, known as Advisers (Programme Administration). These officers possess considerable experience of administration in the States and they help the Commission to keep in close touch with the progress of planning and its implementation. They study at first hand the working of the various development schemes, giving greater attention to the more important projects and the projects in which the Central Government gives specific assistance, financial or otherwise. They also give specific attention to the problems of administration, finance and public co-operation in implementing the Plan. They can also be called upon to help in the study of special problems in which the Central or State Governments may be interested. The Advisers (Programme Administration) have the status of *ex-officio* Additional Secretaries to the Government of India. Planning is a continuous process and the Advisers, who feel the pulse of the country in matters of planning and execution, render a valuable service in spotting and removing difficulties holding up the implementation of the plan projects and in speeding up the tempo of the plan execution in general.

The General Secretariat is a relatively small unit consisting mainly of three branches—Plan Co-ordination, General Co-ordination and Administration—and an O & M Section. It is staffed by members of the Administrative and Central Clerical and Secretariat Services. The General Secretariat performs both house-keeping and co-ordination functions. It is responsible primarily for matters of common interest to the Commission. It keeps in touch with questions of general policy, bringing to notice and seeking, according to the needs of a case, the advice of Secretary, Deputy Chairman or individual members or of the Commission as a whole. Its functions are thus complementary to those of Technical Divisions and, depending upon circumstances, important individual questions may be initiated by senior secretariat officers in consultation with the Heads of Divisions or *vice versa*.

The Technical Divisions constitute the backbone of the office of the Planning Commission. It is in these Divisions that data of all types are collected and processed and put in shape to help in the formulation of plan policies and programmes. The Technical Divisions are responsible for scrutiny and analysis of schemes and programmes to be included in the Plan, preparation of material for and reports on the Plan, follow-up on plan recommendations, conduct of technical studies and research, and examination of references from central Ministries, State governments and voluntary agencies in regard to plan projects and programmes.

There is no rigid size or pattern to which these Technical Divisions must conform. They vary in size, depending on the requirements and availability of suitable personnel. Ordinarily, a head of a research unit is described as Chief; where a less senior officer is in charge, he is known as Director. Chiefs and Directors are frequently assisted by Assistant Chiefs. Each research unit consists of some research staff like Senior Research Officers, Research Officers and Investigators and some secretariat staff. The various units work to a common purpose and policy, and in all that is done, they consult one another. There are in all 20 such technical units, both big and small. The small units are called sections and not divisions. They fall broadly into two groups :

- (a) General Divisions, *i.e.*, those concerned with the whole economy from specific points of view, *e.g.*, Economic, Labour and Employment, and Statistics Divisions, and
- (b) Branch Divisions, *i.e.*, those concerned with particular branches of the national economy, *e.g.*, Agriculture, Industry and Minerals, Village and Small Industries, Transport, Natural Resources, Health, Education, and similar other Divisions.

The general scheme of the organisation of Technical Divisions is, in regard to basic principles, not very different from that of the central Ministries. The 'subject-heads' of the Technical Divisions, however, do not correspond in all cases to those of the central Ministries. For instance, there is a separate Section of Social Welfare in the Planning Commission, and separate sections on 'Public Management Studies' and 'Public Co-operation', each of which does not have any counter-part in the central Ministries. These differences are understandable when we take into account the fact that national planning covers not only the activities of the Central Government but also of the State Governments, the voluntary

organisations and private industry. It may be said that allocation of 'subject-heads' between different technical units in the Planning Commission is broadly designed to facilitate national planning rather than promote administrative action as is the case with the central Ministries.

The senior positions in the Technical Divisions are, as a rule, manned by subjects-specialists, having specialised knowledge and experience in their respective fields. The junior research staff is in the nature of economic or social-science analysts. The specialised work of the various technical divisions has to be coordinated and dovetailed together for the preparation of an integrated plan of development. In this regard the secretariat officers, the Advisers and the individual members of the Planning Commission play a significant role as 'general administrators'. They are not subject-specialists, though some of them have a flair for certain fields of work; but they possess, among others, a wide knowledge of public affairs, insight into problems of human relations and administrative organisation and executive talent. As a five-year national plan has to be formulated as a single 'organic unit' and its various parts have to be fitted into each other to make a complete 'whole', co-ordination and integration in the work of the specialists which is attained is of a high order. The 'co-ordinators' of the general-administrator type are thus as indispensable to the central planning agency as are subject-specialists.

Incidentally, many of the Central Ministries have today technical staff in position; this staff is either employed in the technical organisations attached to the Ministries or employed separately as research aide. The Ministries of Finance, Labour, Commerce and Industry, and Food and Agriculture have special research staff to assist them in the planning and assessment of their policies and programmes. The Ministry of Education has a separate cadre of Education Officers drawn from persons with experience of teaching or educational administration. Other Ministries like Works, Housing and Supply, Health, and Information and Broadcasting, have at their headquarters, and in their attached offices, officers with technical knowledge and experience in their respective fields.

One may naturally ask "what is the *raison d'être* for employing research staff in the Planning Commission when such staff, having more or less similar qualifications and experience, is already borne, in one form or other, on the strength of individual Ministries?" There are two factors which justify the staffing of Divisions by technical personnel. First of all, the various schemes to be included in the Plan cannot be screened and assessed without some specialised knowledge of the field to which they relate. Secondly, such scrutiny and

assessment have to be made, not from the point of view either of the Central Government or a particular State Government or local authority, but from the angle of the overall national plan. The research staff employed in the Technical Divisions, though specialists in their fields, are better qualified by virtue of their daily contacts within the Commission, to consider various schemes and measures in a field from the broad national point of view. National planning also involves certain preliminary studies before certain schemes or policies can be included in the Plan, and these obviously, can only be undertaken by qualified research staff.

While the employment of research staff both in individual Ministries and the Planning Commission is necessary, it is no less necessary to ensure that in their work they supplement rather than duplicate each other. Planning to be effective must originate within the research cells of the individual departments; the work of the research staff of the Commission should mainly be one of scrutiny and collation. For this purpose it is essential to have flexibility in regard to inter-division transfers of research staff of middle and junior levels. The senior technical staff and heads of technical units should have had the advantage of field experience in States or elsewhere.

One of the important technical sections which deserves special notice here is that of public management studies. This section is concerned primarily with the study of problems of organisation and administration of public enterprises and panchayats. In making public management studies, the section compares and collates experience both of the public and the private sectors. It also keeps itself informed of studies undertaken in the Ministries, enterprises, and Universities within the country as well as of studies made in other countries. The work of the section is expected to be co-ordinated with the work, in the field, of the Indian Institute of Public Administration and other similar institutions.

The strength of the staff in the Planning Commission has increased in the last five years. During the years 1952-57, 9 posts of Directors, 3 posts of Deputy Chiefs (both carrying the same scales of pay), 4 of Assistant Chiefs, 28 of Senior Research Officers, 46 of Grade I Economic Investigators and 48 of Grade II Economic Investigators were added. There has been a similar increase in the junior ministerial staff. For instance, the number of Lower Division Clerks increased during the same period by 103, Upper Division Clerks by 48, Assistants by 43 and Section Officers (Category B) by 12. These increases in the strength of the staff do not in any way indicate the total increase in the volume of work. A considerable work of the Planning Commission is done

in committees and councils and some work even undertaken in certain outside agencies like the Indian Statistical Institute.

### III

The plans of States, based on 'district plans', as well as statements of development projects of Central Ministries, are received in the Commission either for purposes of inclusion in the national plan or for the revision of annual targets. Similarly, progress reports on the execution of the plan projects are also received. For all this, the Planning Commission works in close understanding and consultation with the Ministries of the Central Government and the Governments of States.

As regards liaison with the Central Government, this is maintained in several ways. As already mentioned the Prime Minister is the Chairman of the Commission. Three Cabinet Ministers are members thereof and the Cabinet Secretary functions as Secretary of the Commission. Further, a good deal of consultation of an informal character takes place between the Central Ministries and the Planning Commission. The Commission sets up from time to time Committees, consisting of representatives of Ministries concerned and of the Commission itself, to examine and make recommendations in regard to specific problems. For detailed investigation of particular questions, Study Groups of appropriate officers from the Ministries and the Planning Commission are also set up. The discussions in these Committees and Study Groups, in addition to informal consultations taking place at different levels, help to integrate the work of the Planning Commission with that of individual Ministries.

Contact with States is maintained through the State planning and development departments. The Chief Ministers of all States are members of the National Development Council, a high level policy co-ordinating body, presided over by the Prime Minister and meeting at least twice a year. Members of the Planning Commission are also members of the Council. Ministers of the Central Government also participate in its work. Meetings of the Standing Committee of the Council are held more frequently. The National Development Council has been evolved as an administrative agency to achieve the fullest co-operation and co-ordination in planning between the Central and State Governments and to ensure uniformity of approach and unanimity in the working of the National Plan.

The main functions of the Council are as follows:

- (1) To review the working of the National Plan from time to time;

- (2) To consider important questions of social and economic policy affecting national development;
- (3) To recommend measures for the achievement of the aims and targets set out in the National Plan, including measures to secure the active participation and co-operation of the people, improve the efficiency of the administrative services, ensure the fullest development of the less advanced regions and sections of the community, and, through sacrifice borne equally by all citizens, build up resources for national development.

With a view to securing expert technical advice and assistance, the Planning Commission has evolved a system of technical committees called "Panels". Both officials and non-officials, who have special knowledge and experience in the relevant fields, are represented on these Panels. At present there exist panels of economists and scientists and panels on education, health, housing and regional planning, labour, and land reforms—7 panels in all. In addition, there is the Technical Advisory Committee on Irrigation and Power Projects of the Central and State Governments, originally set up in 1953. The Planning Commission also set up that year a Research Programmes Committee to initiate and encourage research on economic, social, administrative and political aspects of development. The Committee, which is headed by Deputy Chairman, consists of eminent social scientists. It works in close co-operation with universities, research institutions and schools of social work in the country. Schemes on approved topics received from universities and research institutions are first examined by the appropriate technical sub-committee and then by the main committee. The subjects chosen for research in the Second Plan period include:

- (1) studies in decentralisation and industrial dispersal including problems of planning and regional development;
- (2) social hierarchy and leadership;
- (3) machinery for planning and implementation;
- (4) working of village agencies with special reference to public co-operation; and
- (5) problems of administration and of parliamentary control of public enterprises.

Apart from obtaining expert advice on various technical problems, the Planning Commission has also been concerned with eliciting public opinion in general on matters of national planning. It has set up a number of consultative bodies to mobilise thinking and

activities of the people both in regard to the formulation and the implementation of the Plan. There exists today an Informal Consultative Committee of the Members of Parliament for the Planning Commission. Similarly, in order to associate students and the teaching profession more closely with the Plan, Planning Forums consisting of teachers and students have been established in different colleges and universities. The activities of these forums are not confined to organising theoretical discussions, seminars and symposia on planning; they are also expected to help in the successful implementation of the Plan through participation in developmental activities and through creating and disseminating 'plan consciousness' and information.

Two other bodies in the field of public co-operation are 'Co-ordination Committee for Public Co-operation' and 'National Advisory Committee on Public Co-operation'. The first committee was established in November 1956 with the Minister for Planning as its Chairman. It includes representatives from various central Ministries, Planning Commission, the Central Social Welfare Board and the Deputy Chairman of the Commission. Its object is to promote systematic and integrated action on the part of the Central Ministries in regard to special schemes of public co-operation included in the Plan. The other committee—the National Advisory Committee on Public Co-operation—was constituted much earlier (in August, 1952) with the object of advising and guiding Government in regard to measures of securing public co-operation and participation in all the fields of national development. Besides, the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, the Committee includes representatives of various national voluntary organisations.

Co-ordination within the offices of the Planning Commission has been achieved in many different ways. Apart from the usual formal and informal consultations which take place between the various Technical Divisions there exist two branches for effecting continuous co-ordination in work: The Plan Co-ordination Branch deals primarily with co-ordination in regard to the formulation of the Plan, the review of allocations, priorities and targets, and co-ordination in regard to plan-implementation. The 'General Co-ordination' Branch is concerned mainly with co-ordination in matters other than those dealt with by the Plan Co-ordination Branch, such as information and publications, conferences, forums, panels, etc. To keep every member of the Commission fully and regularly informed of the overall developments taking place in the Planning Commission, all important correspondence is circulated simultaneously to all the members including the Deputy Chairman, folders being used for circulation of correspondence relating to matters of ordinary importance.

## IV

The success of national planning obviously depends not only on the preparation of the Plan but also on its prompt and speedy implementation with the full co-operation of the people. Increasing importance has therefore been attached in recent years by the Planning Commission to evaluation of progress in regard to the implementation of plan targets. As early as August 1952, the Commission set up a Programme Evaluation Organisation for making a systematic and periodic assessment of the methods and results of the community development programme. The Programme Evaluation Organisation, though administratively linked to the Planning Commission, is, for all practical purposes, an independent sister organisation and is guided in technical matters by the Programme Evaluation Board. Its work in regard to appraising progress of the community and national extension movements and making valuable suggestions for enhancing their effectiveness is by now well known.

The Commission established recently, in September 1956, another evaluation organ—Committee on Plan Projects. The following are the important functions of the Committee:—

- (1) To organise investigations, including inspections in the fields of important projects, both at the Centre and in the States, through specially selected teams. The teams are composed of technical personnel and eminent public men with experience of the subjects detailed for study;
- (2) To initiate studies with the object of evolving suitable forms of organisation, methods, standards and techniques for achieving economy, avoiding waste and ensuring efficient execution of projects;
- (3) To promote the development of suitable machinery for continuous efficiency audit in individual projects and in agencies responsible for their execution;
- (4) To secure the implementation of suggestions made in reports submitted to the Committee on Plan Projects and to make the results of studies and investigations generally available; and
- (5) To undertake such other tasks as the National Development Council may propose for the promotion of economy and efficiency in the execution of the second five year plan.

The Committee on Plan Projects is composed of the Ministers of Home Affairs, Planning and Finance, and the Deputy Chairman of

Planning Commission. In addition, the Prime Minister, as Chairman of the National Development Council, nominates two Chief Ministers of States as members of the Committee for each class of projects. The Union Minister concerned with a project or a class of projects under investigation is also a member of the committee. The Home Minister is the Chairman.

The Committee on Plan Projects has since set up 3 study teams on "Community Development and National Extension Service", "Irrigation and Power" and "Building Projects". The investigations of these teams are practically nearing completion. Much useful work appears to have been done in regard to the ultimate evolving of suitable forms of organisation, methods, standards and techniques for achieving the most efficient execution of Plan Projects.

## V

The Planning Commission has been in existence only for about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  years by now. The difficult task of national planning on which it has continuously been engaged during this short period has not been without repercussions on its organisational pattern and methods of work. Its organisation is headed by men of great eminence—both public men and administrators. Its top jobs are manned by senior civil servants and subjects-specialists. The Commission has evolved group methods of work and thinking. It has devised effective mechanism for purposes of consultation, co-ordination and evaluation. In its methods of work it has attempted to experiment with less formalised procedures, ensuring all the same a consistency of approach and reasonable work-efficiency.

Notwithstanding the success achieved by it, the Planning Commission is conscious that there are many directions in which its work needs reorientation and improvement. At its instance an O & M enquiry is now under way to examine how its organisation and methods of work can be improved. The work of the Commission so far justifies the thesis underlying its creation that 'Commission type' planning agency would be more effective than the 'department type'. The 'commission form' has not only made possible to have on the organisation eminent and retired civil servants and public men, but also vested the central planning agency with independence and authority which it might not have been able to wield as a regular Government department. But, as we have already seen, it is not the form of organisation which alone has led to its effectiveness ; the pattern of staffing, methods of work and co-ordination, and its network of advisory councils and committees have also made a significant contribution towards its success.

## THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PARTY

*N. V. Gadgil*

**I**N democracy it is a matter of constant anxiety both for the Government and the political party to which it belongs how to secure smooth working with understanding and co-operation of each other. In India, parliamentary democracy, as envisaged in the Constitution, has formally been functioning since the 26th January, 1950. It may, however, be added that parliamentary democracy really started functioning more or less from the 15th August, 1947. Though even a decade is too short a period to generalize on any experience that is gained, it all the same appears desirable to study the problem of the relationship between the Government and the Party in India, vital as it is to the success of democracy in this sub-continent. Experience gained here in the matter could be usefully compared with experience gained in other countries by parties functioning there both while in power and while in opposition.

The political principles and philosophy which underlie our Constitution are more or less the same as those which govern political institutions in England. But, in that country, the party, or the mass organization, came into existence subsequent to the organization of the parliamentary party. In India, the political parties, as they were, or are, were already in the field before anything like parliamentary democracy started its career.

In England, in the evolution of the two main parties, Conservatives and Labour, circumstances and personalities played no mean part, and like the typical British attitude, their approach was always pragmatic. The Labour Party has traditionally been as hesitant, as the Conservatives have been forthright, in publicly acknowledging the power and the authority of the leader of their party. If one goes by the formal description of the powers of the Conservative leader, it will appear that once elected, he can play the autocrat with impunity. In contrast, the Labour leader appears to be hemmed round with restrictions which ensure his subservience both to the party in Parliament and to the mass party organization outside. According to the constitution of the Conservative Party its leader is not required to submit himself for a periodic re-election, while the Labour leader, except when he is Prime Minister, is subject to annual re-election

by the Parliamentary Labour Party. The Conservative leader, whether his party is in power, or in opposition, does not normally attend the meetings of his followers; nor does he consider himself bound by their decision; the Labour leader is expected to attend the meetings of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and, when Labour is in opposition, he presides at party meetings, and in theory, he is its spokesman for all the policies which his colleagues decide to adopt. The Leaders of both the parties are, of course, free to choose their Cabinet colleagues when they hold the office of Prime Minister. But the difference is that the Conservative leader retains a similar right in selecting his Shadow Cabinet while the Labour leader must work with a Shadow Cabinet chosen for him by the Parliamentary Labour Party.

In the matter of policy, the Conservative leader has the sole ultimate responsibility for the formulation of the policy and is not formally bound by the decisions of any organ of his party either inside or outside Parliament. On the other hand, the Leader of the Labour Party is bound to implement the programme, determined *jointly* by the Parliamentary Labour Party and the mass party organization. In the annual conference of his party, the Conservative leader normally does not attend, but he addresses the mass rally which is held at the end of the conference. The Labour leader, on the other hand, presents to his conference the report of the work of the Parliamentary Party, whether in power or in opposition, during the previous year. The Conservative leader is in complete charge of the party bureaucracy, appoints all its principal officers, and the party organization is virtually a personal machine. In contrast to this, the Labour leader has no personal control over the affairs of his party's Head Office. He is an *ex-officio* member of the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party.

From the above general description, it will appear that the power and authority of the two leaders differ. The Tories alone believe in the personal infallibility of the leader and prefer it to the collective wisdom of their party members. The following observation made in the "Rise of the Labour Party", adequately describes the position of both the Parties in British politics.

"The Tory Party has always been primarily the Parliamentary Party supported financially and in other ways by business interest outside the Parliament, organized round parliamentary leader and owing no allegiance to any party organization in the country. The local Tory organizations and their National Federation are mere adjuncts to this Parliamentary machine. They have no power to govern the party; nor do they in effect claim such power; for they are not, as the Labour Party is founded, on democratic notions. The

Tory Party is a grouping of Tory politicians round the Parliamentary leader; whereas the Labour Party is a collective expression of democratic sentiment based on the working class movement, and on the constituency organizations of the workers by hand and by brain. Accordingly in the Labour Party, the final word rests with the annual party conference; and between conferences, the National Executive Committee is the administrative unit. The Parliamentary Party carries through its duties within the framework of policies laid down by the annual party conference to which it reports each year. The Parliamentary Party has no power to issue orders to the National Executive, or the Executive of the Parliamentary Party. Both are responsible only to the party conference”.

The above was the position in 1948. Earlier in 1937, Mr. Clement Attlee wrote in the “Labour Party in 1937”, as follows :— “The Labour Party Conference lays down the policy of the Party and issues the instructions which must be carried out by the Executive, the affiliated organizations and its representatives in Parliament and local parties. The Labour Party Conference is, in fact, the Parliament of the movement.” Such a view was the result of a strong line taken by some of the Labour Members after the Labour Party’s debacle in 1931. During the second term of power, the Labour Party had realized that the formulation of policy was not so much done by the mass Labour Party; but was more or less the privilege of the Leader of the Labour Party who was also the Prime Minister. In 1931, Mr. Fenner Brockway said in the annual conference “When you come to apply the principles of democracy to the Parliamentary Labour Party, this is the fact you have to face that the policy of the Labour Party, when you have a Labour Government, is not in the hands of the Parliamentary Labour Party at all. The policy is determined by a Prime Minister who is the Head of the Government, and again and again the Parliamentary Party is faced with proposals brought forward in such a way that it is impossible in a democratic way for the Parliamentary Party to reverse these proposals.”

When the Labour Party came into power for the third time in 1945, the same old difficulty of having smooth relations between the Government and the Parliamentary Party and the same party outside arose again. The general feeling in England was that if the outside party were to dominate, then Parliament would merely become an instrument to endorse and register the decisions already taken outside it. This was evident when in 1945, Harold Laski, the Chairman of the Labour Party, took a stand in which he claimed that the party was the authority and nobody could speak on its behalf unless the line was accepted by the party as such. Mr. Churchill immediately took

advantage of this and posed the question for a straight decision by Mr. Clement Attlee. Mr. Attlee in his reply conceded "that the Labour Party represented by the National Executive Committee between (annual) conferences had a right to be consulted, but denied that it has power to challenge the actions and conduct of a Labour Prime Minister". Mr. Attlee in his letter to Laski told him that he (Laski) had no right whatever to speak on behalf of the Government. It is thus obvious that the position taken by Mr. Attlee in 1937 had by this time undergone a complete change; and one finds in the report of the annual conference of the Labour Party for 1946 words to the effect that the collective responsibility, both in home and foreign policy, rested with the Cabinet. The Prime Minister, members of the Cabinet and other members were always ready to discuss matters affecting the policy of the Government and the administration; but the policies of the Government were not in any sense determined by a majority decision of the Parliamentary Labour Party any more than they were governed by the decisions of the National Executive Committee or the annual party conference.

Today, the relationship of a Labour Prime Minister to his followers in Parliament and outside is now almost identical with that of a Conservative or Liberal Prime Minister. It stands to common sense that the leader should take into account the views of the parliamentary, as well as of the mass party. If he outrages his followers in the House, his Government would fall; if he outrages his followers in the country, he might find himself without an electoral machine. The illusion that was prevalent in 1932-33, that a Labour leader, when he became Prime Minister, would be primarily a mouthpiece of both the parliamentary party and the movement outside, has by now disappeared. "Individually," Mr. Attlee in his speech before the Labour Annual Conference in 1948 said, "I have always felt that the right course is to put my views before my colleagues, discuss with them and then accept their decision. They may not convince me that they are right, but I believe that the foundation of democratic liberty is a willingness to believe that other people may perhaps be wiser than oneself". This statement, of course, did not alter the hard fact that the entire policy of the Labour Government was the creation and responsibility of the Cabinet or the Government.

In 1951, however, Mr. Bevan raised a fundamental question in connection with the relationship between the National Executive Committee representing the mass party and the Government. Following his resignation from the Cabinet over his difference over Government policies, he said, "The National Executive Committee is the servant not of the Government but of the Party. Its primary task is to

carry out the decisions of the Annual Conference. Its relations even with a Labour Government, though naturally close and friendly, are second to its obligations to the party. It has rightly no power to issue directives to the Government. It should not be called on automatically to endorse Government policies, even Labour policies, which have not been pronounced upon by the Party Conference. A serious situation would arise if it came to be thought that the N.E.C. was merely an extension of the machinery of Government. Its activities might well be crippled in such a situation and the Government itself embarrassed if, for instance, party delegates to Socialist Parties and Conferences in other countries were to be regarded as shadows of the Government. Equally seriously is the opposite danger that could arise from the disturbance of this constitutional balance—the danger that the Government could come to be regarded as the instrument of the party executive. It is in order to stress the undesirability of any such tendency that the Labour Prime Minister always presents to the annual conference of the party a separate report on the working of the parliamentary labour party. The distinction between Government and the party has always been zealously maintained in British constitutional practice. It is one of the important safeguards of the rights of the individual who seeks to express a minority view within the framework of the party constitution. The statement issued by the N.E.C. tends to blur this constitutional distinction and to weaken the safeguard. We cannot agree that the N.E.C. was within its powers in issuing this statement, or has the right to prevent us from discussing in Parliament or elsewhere the issues on which it has hastened to take sides.”

In reply to the above, the Party Secretary stated Government and the National Executive Committee must preserve their separate identities and the N.E.C. has no obligation automatically to endorse Government policy; but he, however, added “the National Executive is, however, free to comment on the work and policy of any Government—Labour no less Tory. Such statements and comments by the N.E.C. are open to discussion like any other activity of the Committee. There should be no attempt to confine National Executive Committee statements to problems of internal party organization only, and the National Executive Committee should have a right to speak on political issues which were not foreseen at the previous party conference. The N.E.C. has not only the right but the duty to publish its views on matters which might be the subject of controversy and confusion in the movement.”

Two trends clearly emerge from the above short survey of the British practice in regard to relations between Government and

Party. Firstly, the mass party cannot dictate anything to its Government when in power; nor can the mass organization be looked upon by the Government as a silent follower, having no independent views on any question. This position is now accepted as the constitutionally correct approach to the relationship between the Government and its party. Secondly, the English people have always been very zealous of the sovereignty and dignity of Parliament, and they see to it that Parliament is not by-passed by any arrangement between the Government and the Party. They still believe that real democracy consists in direction of the affairs of the country by Parliament and not by any party inside or outside. The problem, however, of securing smooth working and understanding between the Government and its party is a perpetual one, and various attempts have been made in England, and continue to be made even now, to find out a more acceptable solution. The authority of the Labour Party Conference, as well as of the Trade Union Congress as bodies claiming a co-equal right to influence policy at large are greater than in the case of their conservative counter-part. The Labour Party has retained an executive separate from the Government and even a parliamentary executive, but through strong ministerial representation in each of the bodies the danger of irresponsible pressure on the Government has been reduced.

## II

In India, as has been already stated, mass parties were already there, before anything like parliamentary institutions started functioning in the country. To adequately appreciate the relationship that exists today between the Congress Government, its parliamentary party, the executive of the parliamentary party, the All-India Congress Committee and the general Congress, it is necessary to understand the functioning of the Congress party at all levels. But it does not appear necessary to refer to the working of other political parties in the country, the constitution and composition of their executives, and their relations with their leaders; because none of them has had up till now the opportunity to run a Government whether at the Centre or in States. It will be interesting to know, of course, what relationship exactly exists between the Communist Party now in power in Kerala, its parliamentary party, its polit-buro and the communist party of this country. However, it is proposed to examine the problem only in regard to the working of the Congress Party.

The Congress Party is a mass organization, and its membership is open to anybody above 18 years of age, irrespective of caste, community or religion, the only condition being subscription to the creed

of the Congress. The elections to various offices to Congress Committees at different levels take place biennially. The Indian National Congress meets annually. The President of the Indian National Congress is elected by the total number of delegates, numbering about 5,000. Up till recently, the delegates—one each for a lakh of population—were directly elected by the enrolled members in constituencies, delimited by the various Pradesh Congress Committees. Each Pradesh Congress Committee elects by the system of proportional representation  $1/8$ th number of its delegates as members of the All-India Congress Committee. In addition, some persons are nominated to represent the interests of minorities and other elements not adequately represented, and certain functional bodies. The All-India Congress Committee meets generally twice or thrice in a year. The Executive of the Congress, which is called the Working Committee, is nominated by the President.

The Congress was a national platform before freedom, as it was the main party that struggled for freedom. It is no longer a national platform, although it lies to think itself to be so. The broad fact is that in the general elections of 1952 and of 1957, it could not secure a majority of total votes cast, though it secured majority of seats—a consequence which is not unfamiliar to democratic functioning of the electoral apparatus. While Congress was a fighting organization, it was appropriate that its highest executive should be nominated by the President to secure despatch and homogeneity in its activities. It was then essentially an organization conceived for a struggle and hence unity of outlook and despatch in actions were important considerations. The contexts have now changed. The function of the Congress now is virtually that of a vote-getting body and experience of the last ten years, after Congress party came into power, shows that, although efforts are honestly made by congressmen to take interest in constructive and other activities, the real enthusiasm is generated just a few months before the general election takes place.

The Congress Working Committee is the authority which controls the selection of candidates and is charged with the maintenance of discipline in its ranks and has a vast power of patronage. The Working Committee being a nominated body, it is obvious that full democratic atmosphere is hardly possible and since the Congress party is in power, the prestige of the Working Committee and of the President of the National Congress has suffered diminution. The supreme leadership of the country and the party now rests with the Prime Minister.

In a Parliamentary democracy, the majority party has the right to run the Government, and its leader is called upon after his election, by the Head of the State to undertake the responsibility of formation

of the Government. The leader chooses his own colleagues, except in Australia where the Cabinet Ministers are chosen by the party through a process of election and there the Prime Minister cannot afford to be dictatorial. Where convention has been established to the effect that it is the Prime Minister who is to choose his colleagues, he naturally wields great power and influence. In England, the Leader of the Conservative Party is free to choose his own colleagues. Although some years back, the Labour Party's feeling was that their leaders, when called upon to form the Government, should consult either the National Executive, or some important members of the party, it is no longer the case and leaders of both the parties are equally free to choose their colleagues. The Labour Party's Executive, namely, the N.E.C., is an elected body unlike the Working Committee of the Congress. The National Executive Committee has always been at an advantage in having many members of the Parliament and ex-Cabinet Members being elected to it, apart from the presence of the Prime Minister as *ex-officio* member. This position results in regular exchange of views and a deeper understanding between the Government, as represented by the Labour Prime Minister, and the National Executive.

In the case of India, ministerial representation in the Congress Working Committee is tremendous. The Committee itself is nominated by the Congress President who is virtually a choice of the Prime Minister. Before 1952, there was a rule in the Congress Constitution that the Working Committee should not contain more than 1/3rd of the Ministers, but in 1952 that rule was removed and the present position is that the Working Committee is virtually an adjunct to the Government. The presence of the Prime Minister and his colleagues in large numbers in the Working Committee results in acceptance only of those policies and those resolutions which are approved by him. The resolutions passed by the Working Committee are then placed before the A.I.C.C. which contains substantial number of legislators. It is almost an impossibility for the All-India Congress Committee to pass any resolution which is opposed by the Prime Minister, or by the Congress High Command. The resolutions adopted by the All-India Congress Committee are placed before the annual session of the Indian National Congress. There is very little possibility today of any proposal being carried at the annual session against the wishes of the Prime Minister or the Government. It has been the experience during the last eight years that whatever may be the views of any individual congressman or the congress body, ultimately the view of the Prime Minister prevails. In good old days initiative was shown by members of the Congress. They had opportunities to speak fully and

frankly in the plenary session and in the meetings of the All-India Congress Committee. Although an hour or two even now are reserved for discussion on non-official resolutions actual discussion rarely takes place and most of the resolutions are referred to the Working Committee.

The changes since independence in the constitution of the Indian National Congress, in its outlook, in the procedure of work are on lines on which parties in England and other countries with parliamentary democracies have developed. The Congress started taking active interest in legislatures in 1934 when it decided to fight elections both to the Central and Provincial assemblies. It issued a comprehensive manifesto of the party programme on which elections were to be fought; but it did not just stop there. The Congress also appointed a Parliamentary Control Board and virtually controlled the policies of eight Provinces in which it succeeded in forming the Governments. In addition, a detailed code of discipline for governing the conduct of the members of the Congress party in the legislature was drawn up. In a sense, the Congress party has been accustomed to discipline in its activities in the legislatures. It was, therefore, natural to expect that it would be in full control of Government policies, both at the Centre and in the States, after independence and since independence the question "who is to dominate the Government, whether the Parliamentary Wing or the outside Congress organization" has always been causing anxiety. At least two elected Congress Presidents had to resign over this issue.

When the question of the formation of Government came up before the Working Committee in 1947, considerable discussion is reported to have taken place as to the final authority which was to choose the members of the proposed Cabinet. But we only know the fact that the Prime Minister exercised his authority as it is normally exercised by any Prime Minister in a Parliamentary democracy. Whether he took members of the Working Committee in confidence, and whether he consulted them, is a matter not publicly known.

The position of the Congress Prime Minister is a peculiar one. In the Cabinet, he naturally claims to be the mouthpiece of the Working Committee, and he naturally claims that it is his responsibility that the decisions of the Government are in conformity with the broad principles and policies laid down by the Congress. In the Working Committee, where he cannot escape dominating, he represents the Government and is in a stronger position to successfully press his views, backed up as they are by administrative experience. There are many merits of such a situation inasmuch as the Prime Minister constitutes an effective connecting link between the Government

and the mass organization as represented by the Working Committee; but the disadvantage which is inherent in a situation of this kind is equally overwhelming, viz. that the Prime Minister is invested with formidable power and influence and unless he be a genuine democrat by nature he is very likely to become a dictator. However, in the context of the present conditions, the existing arrangements are on the whole very advantageous. They rule out the chance of any conflict between the national executive of the party and the Government. It is common experience that the last word rests with the Prime Minister and from this point of view there is a distinct advantage in the present position as it has evolved as a result of recent changes in the Congress Constitution. From a democratic point of view, this may not be as desirable as one would wish; but in a democracy, democracy can be overdone, democratic procedure may be overtaxed, resulting in greater friction than harmony. It is not the form of the institutions so much as the spirit in which they are worked that really counts.

### III

It is thus seen that the nature of relationship existing between the Prime Minister who is virtually the leader of the Congress and the Congress organization is the result of circumstances peculiar to our country. The relations between the Congress Parliamentary Party and the Government are, in this context, of secondary importance. The Congress Parliamentary party has never taken the view that it can function outside the framework of reference provided by the Congress mass party. The Congress Parliamentary Party consists of members elected on Congress tickets and those who join it after elections. It elects its Leader for the entire term of Parliament and other officers, such as the Deputy Leader, for the same period. The Congress Parliamentary Party also annually elects its executive, and these elections are well contested resulting in different points of view being represented on the Executive Committee. The Congress Parliamentary Party meets as often as the leader desires or a demand is made by members. The Executive of the Congress Parliamentary Party meets as often as the Prime Minister desires, as also when members demand.

Here, the question arises as to what extent the Congress Parliamentary Party, or its executive, participates in the formulation of policies, by the Government. The little experience extending over these few years goes to show that, although Ministers do not like to discuss everything before the Congress Parliamentary Party, the Prime Minister is generally inclined to bring issues, either of his own accord or on suggestion of members, before the Congress Parliamentary Party. To be fair to the Congress Parliamentary Party, there is full

and free discussion—at least conditions exist for it. If few people take advantage of this, certainly the blame is not to be laid at the door of the Prime Minister or the constitution of the Party; but, as has been the experience of the members both of the Labour and Conservative Parties in England, very few members dare frankly to criticize policies on which the Prime Minister is very keen, because nobody likes to be on the wrong side of the Prime Minister who has a vast field for patronage and who virtually can make and mar political careers. Politics is of necessity a highly competitive profession, and nobody naturally likes to stake his future on something which may not be approved by the leader or the party at large. There is no social security in politics.

In the meetings of the Executive Committee of the Parliamentary Party, discussion is more free and frank and questions of fundamental importance are raised. In the Executive Committee normally the Prime Minister takes the members into confidence to the extent possible and consistent with best constitutional traditions and practice. The Party Executive is obviously separate from the Cabinet. Hence a measure of caution is necessary on the part of the members of the Government while discussing matters of high policy in the Executive Committee. Instances have occurred during these years where Government policies were challenged both in the meetings of the Executive and of the Congress Parliamentary Party. Government financial policies have often confused the members of the Congress Parliamentary Party and many of them often pleaded that their loyalty to the mass party was greater than their loyalty to the Congress Parliamentary Party or the leader. In these circumstances, it has always been found difficult to evolve acceptable solutions. What is being done is Government policies are generally endorsed by the Working Committee from time to time, and by the All-India Congress Committee whenever it meets between the annual sessions of the Congress. Thus, continuous efforts are made to keep the relationship between the Government on the one hand and the mass party on the other on a sound and smooth basis.

In conclusion, it may be said that the Parliamentary Wing of the Congress Party has become dominant because there is no more struggle or satyagraha as such, and whatever progress has to be made it is to be made through constitutional methods and through Parliament. Secondly, unlike the practice in England there exists no formal mechanism here for consultations between the various bodies concerned but efforts are continuously made for establishing informal channels for consultation. These may become more regular and acceptable as more experience is gained. One has only to ensure that, in securing smooth working between the various bodies and at various stages, principles of democracy are not jeopardized to any extent.

## GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONNEL IN THE UNITED NATIONS

*Anand K. Srivastava*

THE Central Government in any large country today is invariably faced with the problem of selecting its personnel from as many of its provinces as possible. Equity, political expediency, and the desire to have administrative personnel properly representative of the various classes and regions in the country, necessitate such a wide selection. While theoretically all modern progressive states appoint their civil servants on the basis of merit only, yet political forces tend to bring about some sort of a balance between merit on the one hand and geography on the other. Such a balance becomes all the more difficult to attain in the higher echelons of the services where promotions must be made after taking several subjective considerations into account.

In the United Nations the problem has assumed special importance. Though the U.N. is only an association of nations and not a world government, its experience, none the less, might provide some guidance to national personnel administrators in the tricky field of selection of personnel where first conclusions can well be deceptive. For instance, the *principle of geographical distribution* of staff followed by the U.N. was embodied in the charter mostly for political reasons and was regarded primarily in the nature of patronage or an international 'spoils' system. Yet the experience of its application in the U.N. during the last few years shows that there cannot be an efficient international administration without it.

The apparently conflicting claims of geography and merit in recruitment are resolved in Article 101 (paragraph 3) of the U.N. Charter, as follows:

"The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on *as wide a geographical basis as possible*."

Considerations of merit have thus been given the 'paramount' importance, while those of nationality have been relegated to a secondary position. The two, of course, are not mutually incompatible but it is clear that the accent is on efficient performance of staff duties. This means that those specific qualities of personnel which are usually

demanding in the organisation of an efficient national administration are to be given due weight even in the United Nations. The geographical basis comes in later because mere efficiency is not enough, and the member countries should be assured that the interests of all nations carry equal weight with the secretariat. That is what makes the quota system indispensable to present day international organisations. The system has, in spite of gloomy prophecies, worked so well that it is safe to say that the United Nations personnel have, on the whole, more of an international consciousness than the delegates and representatives of member nations. In the light of the League of Nations' experience, this achievement cannot be casually dismissed.

## II

The United Nations today consists of 82 member-nations and has a secretariat staff of 4,159 men and women. The staff quota of a member nation is based on its financial contribution to the U.N. budget and is applicable only to professional category of posts covering in all about 25% of the total positions. A nation is allowed a number of secretariat posts, equal to its financial contribution to the United Nations budget, plus or minus 25%. For instance, India's contribution to the U.N. budget has been fixed at 3.25% and this entitles her to a like percentage of the 1,170 positions in the U.N. open to geographic distribution, which works out at 38. Twenty five per cent of this figure is 10, and therefore the range of U.N. posts open to India varies from 28 to 48. The upward or downward variation of 25% allows for administrative flexibility in recruiting staff, while at the same time it presents a sufficiently definite criterion for the Secretary-General to follow. However, the upward variation is not allowed for countries contributing more than 10% of the budget so that a further check is put on over staffing the U.N. Secretariat by nationals of wealthy nations.

Translators, interpreters, and bilingual secretaries, are not put on the geographical quota, as only a few nations are favourably placed to supply such staff and their national quotas should not obviously be reduced because of this. Staff of lower categories like clerks, messengers, chauffeurs, guards, and porters, are also not included in the national quotas because of the disproportionately heavy cost of their recruitment from all over the world. They are all locally recruited and are for the most part Americans.

The present practice is, however, open to question. The percentage of the various categories of staff excluded from the principle of geographical distribution works out as below :—

General-Services category under the level of the Principal (below G. 5)	51%
Posts with language requirements	11%
Manual workers, field services and others	10%
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	72%
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It is an open question whether the exclusion has not already gone too far. Because of the already existing over-representation of certain wealthy member nations in the professional categories covered by the geographical quota system, and sometimes for reasons of non-availability of personnel of the requisite calibre, several 'under-developed' countries are still below their national "quotas". Since existing staff cannot be removed, the under-represented countries could be given representation in the General Service category at the G-4 level, over and above the present representation in the professional ranks. Such staff would be introduced into vacancies caused by turn-over and since it would require to be less well-qualified than the professional staff, it could easily be found in the under-developed countries. The step would create much goodwill for the U.N. apart from being equitable.

Similarly, in the case of language staff, many of the interpreters are in fairly high professional categories and their exclusion from the geographical distribution creates a strong pull for having more official languages. The United Nations in the beginning had only four official languages, English, French, Russian and Chinese. Later Spanish and very recently Arabic, have been added to these. The measure is of course partly due to the greater importance which is now being attached to the nations speaking these languages but the desire of such nationals to have more staff on the Secretariat is also responsible for it. In 1956, out of a total of 265 linguistic posts 72 were Spanish and 11 Arabic and these were all in the professional category.

Many of the interpreters and other linguistic staff are highly qualified economists, sociologists and the like. They are promoted to non-linguistic jobs because they are qualified to hold them, but this step upsets the quota balance. There is good case for reappraising the exclusion of the linguistic staff from the national quotas.

The quota system does not vest a particular nation with a inherent right of receiving a fixed percentage of U.N. salaries or posts. The provision in the U.N. Charter regarding geographical distribution is in the nature of a directive principle of the U.N. personnel policy. The application of the quota system has to be judged from a broad

standpoint. The Secretary-General should be satisfied that the cultural assets and technical competence of each nation are contributing to the Secretariat in a full measure, while each member nation in turn, should also feel satisfied that its cultural assets and technical competence are making a full contribution to the Secretariat.

The quota system, based on the financial contribution of the member nations has the disadvantage of placing too much emphasis on their economic status. Some of the other criteria could be national income, literacy or population, and the like, but a system of geographic distribution based on any or all of these would be more difficult to administer than the present one. The criterion of population would give India and China nearly half the total number of secretariat posts, and this would leave many powerful nations dissatisfied. Financial contribution is ultimately based on several considerations like national income, economic development, and population, and is on the whole the most suitable yardstick for determining staff quotas.

However, administering even the present quota system is by no means an easy task. Some governments like the U.S.S.R. do not permit their nationals to apply freely for U.N. jobs. In other cases, like that of China, power politics has made a realistic working of the quota system virtually impossible. Many underdeveloped countries are unable to spare their few qualified specialists. New member-entrants are obviously under-represented, while in certain Middle Eastern countries the U.N. has received so little publicity that qualified people still remain uninterested in its service. For non-self-governing and trust territories there exists a resolution of the General Assembly that the Secretary-General give sufficient consideration to the recruitment of people from such territories but progress here has been slow and difficult since the nationals of these territories have to be included in the quotas of the respective metropolitan countries.

Even today many large areas are not represented properly in the Secretariat staff. Six out of the 82 member nations account for 60% of the total staff. The preponderance of nationals of Western Europe and North America, because of the large financial contributions of their countries, is overwhelming; 65% of the professional staff and 68% of the higher posts are manned by them as against 58% of their budgetary contribution.

The position in regard to the representation of the nationals of the United States, U.K. and France was in 1956, as follows :—

<i>Member States</i>	<i>Desirable Range</i>		<i>Actual number</i>	<i>Language posts excluded from geographical distribution</i>
	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>		
U.S.A.	309	414	319	94
U.K.	73	121	158	49
France	53	89	90	122
Totals	435	624	567	265

As the quota is now administered, the share of the Middle and Far Eastern countries in the U.N. staff is 3.34% and 5.13% respectively. Not more than 8% of the total U.N. staff comes from South American member states. True there has been some improvement over the position in 1954 but there is still much room for further progress.

The most important thing about the quota is the spirit in which it is implemented rather than a perfect mathematical formula. During 1956, for instance, out of 76 member states, 14 were contributing less than .05 per cent of the U.N. budget. If a mathematical calculation of the quotas were made on the basis of these percentages, they would amount to practically nothing. The Secretary-General here should see that the U.N. personnel as a whole represent all shades of opinions, cultures and traditions rather than approach the problem too rigidly or mechanically.

The present form of the yearly report of the Secretary-General on staff matters is not calculated to produce the most desirable psychological effect on the member states, concentrating attention as it does on the actual staff position of nationals from each member state rather than on the trends. If this annual report gave a more detailed analysis of the progress achieved in securing better geographical distribution, apart from the bare statement of the working results of any prescribed formula, such an analysis would obviously be of wider and deeper interest. It could also profitably show what efforts were made to secure recruits from unrepresented or under-represented countries.

However, it cannot be gainsaid that the U.N. has made substantial progress in securing wide geographical distribution of its staff. The multiplicity of U.N. meetings in the first two years, the speed of the initial recruitment in 1947, and the shifting of the U.N. working headquarters made any proper geographical distribution very difficult.

Immense strides have been made compared to the earlier overwhelming and rather unavoidable preponderance of American nationals. Today only 12 years after the U.N. has been formed, it has attained a better geographical balance in its posts than the League of Nations ever was able to secure. It seems that the measures which still remain to be taken in improving the geographical balance further, particularly in the higher posts, will not take too long to come.

### III

The principle of geographical distribution of staff in U.N. has been subject of many studies. Langrod\* and Crocker\*\* hold it responsible for a large proportion of the United Nations' inefficient personnel. This is a doubtful conclusion. It is true there are inefficient people in the organisation. The present writer is familiar with the case of a national from a state, where both English and French were not too well known, working in one of the U.N. Departments. He was of the professional rank but because of his inability to draft properly in these languages he was mostly given work of a clerical nature while he was trying to pick up the language. In another case, a national from a certain country was, for political reasons, given very little work. American culture interested him, and at the time the writer came to know him, he was trying to pick up American slang expressions. He was promoted after a year, most probably for political reasons, but he fell sick while on home leave and never came back to the United Nations. It is not uncommon to come across similar other stray cases. However, as Mr. J.A.C. Robertson, the United Nations Director of Personnel, said at the Indian Institute of Public Administration in New Delhi recently, "a staff which has a high capacity for flinging itself into round-the-clock emergencies such as the Suez dispute was, cannot generally be dismissed as 'inefficient'."

Langrod and Crocker's criticism must, therefore, be tempered by the consideration that the international staff must command the full confidence of the member nations. The U.N. Secretariat is responsible for detailed planning of all schemes initiated by the General Assembly, Security Council, ECOSOC, and the Trusteeship Council. It is also in charge of the various technical assistance programmes. And it has to carry out all this work in the background of the cold war between two power blocs, the conflict of 'have' and 'have-not' nations over economic policies, and the resurgent non-self-governing

\*Langrod, G; "Les Problèmes Fondamentaux de la Fonction Publique Internationale", *Revue Internationale des Sciences Administratives*, 1953.

\*\*Crocker, W. R.. "Some notes on the U. N. Secretariat." *International Organisation*, Nov. 1950.

territories. The dominating representation of one group tends to shake the confidence of others in the impartiality of the Secretariat. There are many instances in which such mistrust has found expression and the only way to minimise it is by having a good geographical balance in staff, even though initially such a staff may not be as efficient as one obtained by recruiting wholly from well developed countries.

Benjamin Akzin, working for the International Political Science Association found that the United Nations officials coming from the less developed states compared very favourably with those from elsewhere. If the geographical distribution principle were not functioning properly, such officials would be the cause of inefficiency. But he found them as "bright and eager, their preparation was declared to be quite adequate, and a special point was made of their flexibility and adaptability in which the U.N. staff members from new states were said to excel many of their colleagues from old and well settled States".\* The high calibre of personnel coming from such states might possibly be due to the better salaries given by the United Nations and the specialised agencies and the attractions provided by the amenities of such large cities as Paris, Rome, New York, and Geneva, where many of the international organisations are located. Besides, much prestige accrues to member governments if their nationals on U.N. staff are of a high calibre and for this reason they try to send out some of their best men to the U.N.

Akzin also found that some of the older states have consciously adopted the policy of sponsoring their bright young civil servants for service in the United Nations by way of training and some of the new states were also likely to do the same.

It is very necessary that an organisation like the United Nations should have an international-minded personnel. This would specially be true after the sad experience of the League of Nations which was over-crowded with French nationals and had Germans and Italians, who during the late 'thirties, when the fascist regimes had taken over in their homelands, acted on instructions from their governments rather than independently as international civil servants. In fact, they had an unofficial national cell within the League Secretariat and obeyed the policy laid down by their chief. Such a development must never take place in the United Nations. If the price to be paid is that the present efficiency of the United Nations is somewhat less than what it would have been, had the whole staff belonged to the advanced countries, then

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\*Akzin, Benjamin; *New States and International Organizations*, Page 89.

the price has obviously been worthwhile. Today, the U.N. staff not coming up to the required standards is weeded out during probation and gradually a really international-minded staff with an international outlook and a very high degree of efficiency is being built up. The United Nations in this respect is well ahead of the League of Nations.

#### IV

How far has the principle of geographical distribution of staff been applied to national jurisdictions?

In the smaller countries, the problem generally does not exist. The merit system of recruitment is too well-entrenched, in countries like Great Britain and France, to be called to question. Again, in other states, especially under-developed ones, while parochialism does prevail in varying degrees, the smallness of the size of the country and the growing consciousness of national unity militate against the application of the principle of geographical distribution of public personnel in any form on the national scale.

Considerations of geographical affiliations do in effect, if not in theory, influence the recruitment of administrative personnel in the larger countries; this influence, however, is not and cannot be openly admitted. For instance, in the U.S.S.R. there has been an attempt to recruit personnel from all the areas comprising the 15 Republics. The Russian Republic, of course, dominates the scene because of its size; but there is evidence to show that the Ukraine has been passed over sometimes in appointments. A study of the origin of several hundred prominent 'bureaucrats', published in the U.S.S.R. in the 'Catalogue of 2,000 Soviet Personalities' reveals that while the Ukraine contains 8 to 10 per cent of the U.S.S.R.'s population, only 3 to 4 per cent of the 'bureaucrats' come from this otherwise well-developed area. This was not true of Byelorussia, or the three Transcaucasian Republics.

In the United States, where for a long time appointments were regarded as 'spoils' of political success, the principle of geographical distribution has been a very old requirement, dating back to 1883 when the merit system was first introduced in Washington, D.C. It was to set at ease the fear of non-urban states that too many of the appointments in the central city would be made from other states. At that time a provision was introduced for an apportionment of posts among the various States, Territories and the District of Columbia, based on the population as given in the last general census. This rule was, however, amended in 1947 by a Presidential Executive Order, which states the "apportionment" is now "subject of such modifications as the (Civil Service) Commission finds to be necessary in the interest of good administration."

Even so, the balance is in favour of the merit system, because only 1/10th of the total jobs in Washington are affected by the quota rule which can be waived completely in times of emergency. In fact, during the Franklin D. Roosevelt era (1933-45), the rule was more or less ignored. During the last decade, 34 out of 48 states have had less than their due quotas, one state was even with its quota, and 13 states had more than their share. The probable causes of this are hard to trace, but it is all the same significant that no particular type of State, agricultural or industrial, 'under' or 'over' educated, predominates in the list of 14 states which have contributed government employees equal to or more than their quotas. These consist of 3 urban or industrial states, and three mixed-urban-agricultural states located near Washington; the remaining 8 states are the less well-off agricultural states—two of them in northern New England and the others in the Middle West.

It is surprising that the farming states should figure so prominently among the over-quota states. The reason probably is not hard to find. Most of the posts placed under quota are in the Department of Agriculture and since the farming states have built up excellent agricultural colleges they are in good position to supply eligible candidates for the specialised posts of the Department. The functioning of the quota system in the United States is also complicated by the involved procedure necessary in order to certify the eligible candidates from below-quota states ahead of others. The administrative officials often decide the trouble is not worthwhile, just as they decide not to discipline recalcitrant subordinates if the disciplinary process is too long drawn out and judicial.

Though the quota rule has been of nearly 75 years standing, it has so far proved impossible to work it out in practice. That, however, has not caused any particular comment from the legislators and it might therefore be concluded that the interests of merit and efficiency have been preserved in spite of the fact that the system is based intrinsically on political expediency.

## V

What then are the lessons of the experience of geographic distribution of international staff which may be of particular interest to national personnel administrators?

'National consciousness' is the result of subordinating local, district and provincial considerations to a broader national point of view; international consciousness is the subordination of national interests to a still broader international perspective. If national and

international consciousness are akin, and spring from the same mental quality of subordinating parochial interests to larger interests—a conclusion strengthened by Dr. Leonard White's observation that "administration is a single process, substantially uniform in its essential characteristics wherever observed"—then several interesting lessons emerge from the U.N. experience. They would perhaps equally apply to a central government secretariat of any large country with many regional differences, like China, India or Russia. The important among these are :—

- (1) Akzin found that such U.N. staff members as had served the League of Nations tended to have "perfect loyalty" to the international ideal and an "admirable *esprit de corps*". If the development of international consciousness in a person is so directly connected with his exposure to it, the same must also hold good for 'national-mindedness'. This would mean that civil servants in national secretariats should not be interchanged too frequently with those in the states from where they are drawn; a sufficiently long tenure at the central secretariat should be ensured.
- (2) The best attitude for an international civil servant, according to Jenks\*, is "not a lack of attachment to any one country or a superior indifference to the emotions and prejudices of nationally-minded people. It is rather an awareness of the needs, emotions, and prejudices of people from countries in different circumstances, plus the capacity to weigh these elements judicially and impartially." The best attitude for national civil servants would also be an awareness of the needs and emotions of people in different districts, with different customs, outlook, and religious and political predilections, rather than a superior indifference to "parochial" interests.
- (3) Member nations of the U.N. have very varying political ideologies, and the question of loyalty to the organization figured prominently during 1952. The present position in regard to appointments is briefly as follows :—
  - (a) American communists are not eligible for U.N. employment.
  - (b) Communists from communist countries are eligible.

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\*Jenks, C. Wilfred; "Some Problems of an International Civil Service" Public Administration Review, Vol. 3, Spring 1943, pp. 93-104.

- (c) The position of communists from Western European and 'neutral' nations is doubtful there having been no 'test' case.

Wide ideological differences generally do not exist within the governments of a state, and the usual practice is to exclude anyone known to hold an ideology radically different from that of the party in power. For instance, the U.S.S.R. would not give a civil service appointment to someone known to have non-communist leanings, nor would the U.S. appoint a communist.

In India, however, an exceptional situation has arisen because of the recent elections in Kerala. If this pattern of elections repeats for the next two or three elections, so that one state has an ideological climate quite distinct from the rest of the country, the question would arise whether (1) persons known to subscribe to the prevailing ideology in Kerala should be appointed to the civil service, and (2) whether they should be given a tenure of appointment in the Central Government Secretariat. The first point would have to be conceded any way since state civil service appointments would be made in that state by the government in power. As to the second, the principles and practice followed in the United Nations may be a valuable guide. On the lines of the relevant U.N. staff regulations, the general rule may be formulated that states may second to the Central Secretariat, civil servants holding the ideology prevailing in the respective states provided "(1) they shall not engage in any activity that is incompatible with the proper discharge of their duties in the Central Secretariat, and (2) they shall avoid any action, and in particular any public pronouncement, which may adversely reflect on their status. While they are not expected to give up their political convictions, they shall at all times bear in mind the reserve and tact incumbent upon them by reasons of their status in the Central Secretariat."\*

- (4) Akzin further found that though each U.N. staff member's personal equation would determine whether it is to be "my country, right or wrong" or not, people from the newer countries tend to take a *less* detached attitude towards world problems. This would also suggest that, in national administrations, persons with strong local traditions like the mid-

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\*This is an almost verbatim copy of United Nations Staff Regulation 1.4.

western Americans in the U.S. and the East Pakistanis in Pakistan, are less likely to be detached in their attitudes where local interests are concerned.

- (5) Speaking at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, Mr. J.A.C. Robertson, the United Nations Personnel Director, said that two factors contributed, among other things, to the development of an international outlook in the staff members: Secretariat sponsored classes in the principal languages not only helped non-English speaking people to get better adjusted socially to New York, but led to a general understanding of each other's culture. Besides a mixed staff committee consisting of Secretariat officials and staff members from national delegations organised various social and cultural activities.

Similar practices in national secretariats where staff members are drawn from areas with strong local traditions may help in producing a wider and broader view point. In the Government of India Secretariat, for instance, regional language classes could prove very helpful. South Indians, some of whom are dissatisfied because Hindi is the national language, would feel very gratified if they found some of their secretariat colleagues from the north learning southern languages. The latent demand for learning languages in the capital city can be judged from the unparalleled success of the French and German Embassies in creating interest in their respective mother tongues.

- (6) Promotions in the U.N. are made on the basis of merit, but the nationality of the staff member is also important, sometimes, especially as many small national delegations keep complaining about the paucity of their nationals in the higher Secretariat echelons. One Indian, this writer knew, was appointed to the "Executive Office Branch" not only because he was obviously well qualified but also because there had been complaints that too few nationals of the newer states were in the 'Executive Offices'.

In the national context this means that the political arm of the government should have as little say as possible in civil service appointments and promotions, which should wholly be made on a merit basis. In India, as in several other countries, state governments are often unwilling to allow a man go to the centre.

Some of the best workers of the United Nations, especially in its higher echelons, are those who have been seconded by

their national governments for a few years after which they go back to their home countries. Similarly, in the national sphere, the various provinces or states, if given some sort of guarantee of having a fair chance of getting their promising workers back, would be more willing to lend a higher calibre of civil servants than at present. Further, a system of nominal public rewards for good civil servants, mentioning the recipients' home state or locality, made annually, might provide the psychological substitute for the "prestige" factor found behind many good governmental appointments to the United Nations staff.

- (7) The high standard of the U.N. Personnel from the newer states goes to show that 'unpromising territories' can often be very good ground for finding qualified recruits. This suggests that the national civil service commissions should make special efforts to recruit civil servants from backward classes or areas. These may need more training initially; but, considering the long span of a service-career of 30 to 35 years, the result may well be some public servants of outstanding talent and merit.
- (8) Referring to the real international spirit prevailing in the United Nations Secretariat, Akzin points out "No clear answer could be obtained by the Reporter to this query, except in so far as U.N. Secretariat members from India were concerned, . . . (they were) described as very internationally-minded and as exhibiting no desire to use their position on the staff in the interests of their country". This observation ostensibly suggests that India develops more impartial civil servants than she gives herself credit for; it also brings out the inter-action between national and international administrations and underlines the importance of civil service traditions in heightening its integrity and morale.

## VI

Is the quota system desirable? Is it not better to scrap it since it stresses the separateness and 'apartness' of nations? The answer is a 'no' because the United Nations can function in no other way except with a quota system.

Today the United Nations is a voluntary association of nations, and not world government, because no nation is prepared to trust another to the extent of giving up its sovereignty, or even a part of it. Because of this fundamental untrustworthiness between nations, the only way in which the U.N. secretariat can be, and *seem* to be, impartial

(for impartiality must not only exist, it must seem to exist as well) is by having all nations properly represented on its personnel. Otherwise there will always be the lurking suspicion that the international will, as expressed by the General Assembly, the ECOSOC and other U.N. organs, is not being faithfully carried out. And because the *raison d'être* of the quota system is that it dispels suspicion, the spirit of implementation of the quota system, not faithfulness to a mathematical formula, becomes more important. The formula itself may be criticized, its monetary basis changed, the quota of this country increased, of that reduced, but unless it produces a secretariat which is, and also is *thought* to be, fair and above board, the system will have failed. The current criticism from underdeveloped countries about underrepresentation in the higher U.N. echelons shows that progress along lines of satisfactory representation remains to be made. It is no argument to say the criticism may be uninformed. The very fact that charges should be made against the U.N. suggests distrust in the impartiality of international administration in some quarters. Efforts should therefore be made to create an atmosphere of trust.

Administrative personnel constitute the nervous system of the administration. The principle of geographic distribution of staff enables the system to draw its vitality from all parts of the administrative organism. If the U.N. member nations had surrendered their political sovereignties in favour of a world state, the application of the merit system of recruitment to the international civil service might have automatically ensured both efficiency and objectivity in international administration. In the absence of such a development, however, the principle of geographic distribution of personnel provides, perhaps at the cost of a certain 'efficiency' which a management or an O & M expert might find wanting, the one important bulwark for preventing the psychological domination of the U.N. by one or more of the big powers. There is no substitute for the quota system in the administration of international bodies or supranational ones like the NATO, Benelux, or the Pan American Sanitary Bureau.

The use of the geographical distribution principle in sovereign, national jurisdictions is circumscribed by serious limitations. It is only applicable to large countries, like China or the USSR where there are many regional and cultural differences. Even there, it cannot be too openly proclaimed because that will only accentuate the regional separateness, which the central government must endeavour to bridge. The system must remain as a sort of an unwritten directive principle of state policy at the back of the minds of the top administrators. The success of the principle, in both international and national jurisdictions depends, like everything else in public administration, on its use in right doses.

*Governmental Relations*

## INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

*Phillips Bradley*

FEDERALISM, to paraphrase a recent American hit tune, is a many-faceted thing. Its dynamic and its working vary widely among federal states and, within each, in time. How, first, the federal principle and second, its political, functional, fiscal and administrative facets have evolved in the U.S., the oldest of modern federal states, may have some case-study interest for India.

The 1950's offer indeed, a convenient benchmark for assessing the operation of American federalism. The Reports of the Commission of Inter-Governmental Relations reflect an appraisal of federalism in action widely accepted in the U.S.A. today. That the flow of function and hence of political power toward Washington should be stopped and, if possible reversed, is widely recognised as a major trend of the present administration. Operating and other aspects of federalism are scrutinized in various documents of each Hoover Commission. Concern with its practical effects on policy and administration in many fields is expressed in more than a few state legislative reports. Why, one may ask, is there so much attention to federalism in the U.S.A. today? The answer may lie in its potential contributions to the viability of democratic government.

### *The Federal Principle—in Action*

If we divide the problems of American federalism under the headings suggested above, we can approach the question of principle from several view-points. First, it may be noted that the creation of a federal state is always a matter of necessity rather than of convenience. The relative complexity of the governmental arrangements required would hardly appeal to constitution-drafters were not some underlying and inescapable political considerations present.

The U.S.A. was no exception—nor was India. The conditions were not, perhaps very dissimilar in the two countries, however different their immediate profiles might appear. In both, the pre-existence of independent or autonomous “states” made the creation of a unitary national government impracticable.

The principle of federalism was, therefore, a major cornerstone of the Constitution of 1787. Viewed historically, we can see today

that it was not only inescapable but also that it provided a workable and effective framework for political control of an expanding people, territory, economy. No better case for federalism in action has been made, perhaps, than by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay in *The Federalist*. Their comments about its utility have been often demonstrated in American experience.

We may view the federal principle in action in the U.S. from other perspectives than the historical. If we take a constitutional approach, it is at once evident that the principle has been flexibly applied by the Supreme Court. The balance of practical political power and so of functional influence and administrative activity, has altered with changes in the economic and social environment. The evolution has been ultimately, if not immediately, accepted by the judiciary. The formal division of functions between the states and the national government was designed, according to most authorities, to insure survival of the states as the major foci of practical power. The states antedated the weak national government created by the Articles of Confederation. Here, the balance of power was overwhelmingly on the side of the states, aside from "Centre" functions (e.g., external affairs, defence, coinage).

The Constitution of 1787 was ambivalent on the federal principle. On the one side, its framers granted a limited list of legislative powers to Congress. They included, however, two clauses in Article I, Section 8, on which almost the entire structure of expanded federal powers has been erected. One authorized federal tax action "for the general welfare"; the other allowed "necessary and proper" legislation to carry out the specified powers. On the other side, the Tenth Amendment (essentially a part of the original constitution) reserved all powers not delegated to the national government "to the states respectively or to the people". Thus, the Constitution of 1787 pointed both ways on the federal principle.

Nor has subsequent constitutional action much clarified the formal pattern. The one successful attempt to expand direct federal powers (the 18th Amendment on Prohibition) was quickly repudiated (the 21st Amendment). Other amendments dealing with the balance at all have done so only tangentially. Subsequent judicial interpretations have had far more influence in changing the balance. Without attempting here to trace the influence of the Supreme Court in "nationalizing governmental powers, one has only to recall the influence of Mr. Chief Justice Marshall in the Court's early days. On the broad formulations laid down by 1835—when widescale industrialization and improved means of communication were just beginning—the Court

has sanctioned the broadening of federal power with few interruptions. Not only the clauses noted above, but particularly the interstate and foreign commerce power granted to Congress in Article I, Section 8, have contributed to this expansion. Congress and the Supreme Court have not only utilized positive authorizations of federal power and action but applied specific or derived limitations on the states to modify the balance.

It would be interesting to trace the evolution of the federal principle through the constitutional perspective of the Supreme Court. Such an account would, however, lead us too far away from the political and other aspects of federalism. One recent example may be noted: The Supreme Court's action regarding school segregation in the Southern States.

Here, the Court expanded national powers in an almost unprecedented way. On the one hand, it gave a new interpretation to the phrase "equal protection of laws" and "liberty" in the 14th Amendment. On the other hand, it extended federal judicial supervision of state action beyond previous precedents by placing authority for determining the adequacy of state action in the hands of federal district-court judges. It created almost a quasi-legislative function in these courts in an area of jurisdiction hitherto considered of exclusive state concern. By doing so, it also established an almost automatic federal interposition in the administrative as well as the policy side of state action. No wonder that talk of "nullification" revived in the Southern States and that various experiments were tried to modify or annul the effect of Court's two decisions on segregation.

If the constitutional aspects of federalism were reviewed in detail, one would discover that economic, social, and technological changes and population shifts have underlain the steady accretion of federal power. The broad language of the Constitution has proved adequate to meet changing conditions requiring national action.

### *Political Aspects of Federalism*

Turning to another aspect of federalism, the political, we find that the history of American parties offers many examples of the politics of federalism. The traditional roles of the Democratic and Republican Parties on this question have been reversed over the past quarter century. The modern Democratic Party is the ideological descendant of the Jeffersonian Anti-Federalist Party and was, historically, the advocate of "States Rights". The Republican Party, launched on a platform of national policy towards slavery long remained true to its original national view-point. Perhaps from the

days of Woodrow Wilson and certainly from the period of F.D. Roosevelt, the Democrats have supported national programmes in most economic and social fields—e.g. housing, relief, social security—traditionally of exclusive state concern. Although the Republican Party has been pretty consistently on the side of the nationalist trend, its spokesmen have, in the past two decades, increasingly come to express the States Rights outlook.

The States Rights “fetish” as some would call it, has proved viable from 1789 to the present. Although it has been usually considered a peculiarly Southern political platform, it is well to remember that it has had its advocates in every region of the country—depending on the particular conditions of time. The New England states were, for instance, almost ready to secede at the time of the War of 1812, as evidenced by the Hartford Convention of 1814. Numerous other instances could be cited, both before and after the Civil War, in which the States north of Mason and Dixon’s Line asserted their resistance to alleged encroachment on state interest by the national government. Perhaps the most recent evidence of the political viability of the States Rights idea is the close vote (only one vote to spare) in the U.S. Senate on the Bricker Amendment.

The politics of federalism works, however, both ways. The country has expanded in population and economic activity; the growth has been at different rates in different regions and states. Before 1890, when the frontier disappeared, the impetus toward national action came largely from the frontier regions which needed federal aid for developing transportation and other economic services. Since the turn of the century, the differentials in economic resources and social characteristics between regions and states, although less pronounced, have still been of significant political importance. Programmes for federal action in the economic and social spheres have often been opposed or supported in Congress on the basis of these differentials.

Since 1920, when various federal grants-in-aid began to exert a substantial influence on the budgets and programmes of many states, alignments over increases in old grants or extensions of grants to new functional areas have divided Congress not along party but along economic lines. Not infrequently, the so called ‘poor’ states (having lower per capita incomes) have supported, while the so called ‘rich’ states have opposed, these increases and extensions. Thus, today federal aid permeates more and more areas of traditional state or local ‘responsibility’. The politics of federalism can often be understood more clearly along economic than along party lines.

The alignment is not always between the poor and the rich states. Rural-urban conflicts are found in both state and national

politics and affect the policies of both state and national governments. Some federal aid programmes are of more significance to the larger industrial than to the smaller rural states and thus create new foci of support for federal aid as, for instance, for water pollution control or social insurance.

One other aspect of the politics of federalism may be noted briefly. When the Depression struck the United States in 1929, the existing relations between the federal and state governments as to the status of the great cities was suddenly wrenched. Historically, the dual sovereignty of the American system placed the entire control over local government in the states. Such problems as relief and urban development suddenly became urgent to a degree beyond the capacity of either local or state governments to meet. Federal aid became essential if millions of American urban dwellers were not to starve. Thus, the use of federal aid in solving local problems was greatly accelerated and, in fact, bypassed the states through more or less direct contacts between Washington and the cities.

These direct federal-local relations were stimulated by the activities of two national organizations of local governments. The American Municipal Association was created essentially as a national holding company of State Leagues of Municipalities which were themselves associations of various local governments within the states. The U.S. Conference of Mayors was, in fact, a direct immediate concomitant of the Depression; it was organized to mobilise and express the political interests of the larger cities. Both organizations sent their representatives directly to Washington to present the critical needs of large and small cities for federal aid in meeting the Depression crisis. The practice then established, of direct representation of municipal interest to federal agencies without going through state capitals for clearance, has been maintained ever since. Both these organizations established and still maintain Washington offices which function like other lobby to influence legislation and administrative action. The states are also organized nationally, in the Council of State Governments which also maintains a Washington Office. Thus, conflicting points of the states as sovereign entities and of the cities as significant centres of political power, are often projected into congressional committees and administrative hearings.

What this evolution means is fairly clear. On the one hand, economic and social conditions in various sections and in different states will affect their responses (as evidenced by the votes in Congress) to extensions of federal programmes into functional areas traditionally of exclusive state concern. On the other hand, the growing importance of the great cities from the point of view of social and economic

needs and interests, will make them important as sources of political action in Washington—which may not always correspond with the policies of the states in which they are located. This possibility is demonstrated, for instance, in the debate over the 1956 Water Pollution Control Bill. The Council of State Governments took one position before Congressional Committees; the American Municipal Association presented an opposite position to the same Committees. The implications of the emergence of the metropolis as a political force are less clear than the results fiscally and administratively. In the patchwork of governmental units in the U.S.A., the great metropolitan areas find themselves stalemated in fiscal and administrative actions essential to meeting common problems. Here, as in other countries, there is urgent need for political invention in creating new metropolitan structures.

### *Functional Aspects of Federalism*

The traditional division of function between the federal and state governments as defined by the Constitution, has been undergoing continuous modification—almost from the beginning. It is unnecessary here to catalogue the limited range of functions assigned by the Constitution to the federal government, as these functions affect people in their localities and states. Since all other functions were to be carried out by the states, continuous shifts in actual, if not constitutionally recognized, functional activity, has significantly modified the original pattern.

The causes for these shifts—towards increased state centralization and expanded federal action—have already been noted. Economic, social, and technological changes have imposed increasingly complex administrative requirements on government at all levels. These requirements, in turn, necessitated more effective governmental machinery operating over wider territorial and functional areas. Thus, the case for centralisation of responsibility for one function after another operates between localities and the states as much as between states and the national government. The essential difference which made state centralisation of functions easier to accomplish than national centralisation was, of course, the fact that municipalities possessed no “sovereignty”. They were creations of states and could, at any time, be modified in structure or function by the will of the state legislature.

The process of centralisation began in the future states during the colonial period. The responsibility for standards and sometimes for operations in such fields as education and highways began even

in the 17th century. When the original state constitutions were drafted, the range of state action, direct or indirect, on purely local affairs, as then conceived was rather strictly limited. Experience during the 19th and 20th centuries, when economic, social, and technological changes were rapid and pervasive, led to increasing state centralisation of both direct function and supervisory control. The range of local control was substantially narrowed over the past century—in the face of the new demands of an expanding and increasingly urban nation.

An offset to this trend may be noted in recent years. The movement for "Home Rule" in 20-odd States has led to efforts to guarantee citizens some degree of independent control over the structure and functions of their local governments without state legislative interference. Some efforts in a few States have also been made to reorganise the patchwork of local governments which now exists in all the States into a pattern more in line with the actualities of residence, occupation, and resources.

There are today 3049 counties, 16,778 incorporated municipalities, 17,202 towns and townships, 67,346 school districts and 12,319 other special districts. Not infrequently, there will be as many as four or five (sometimes more) layers of local government on a single property or within a single township. In an effort to bypass jurisdictional boundaries, a few states have experimented with formulas by which two or more local governments may combine by contract or otherwise for common services. Although this movement toward integration of local government is a hopeful one, it obviously does not go far enough to meet the urgent need of functional and governmental integration in the larger metropolitan centres. The possibilities—and the activities—of overlapping function are obviously enormous here.

The trend toward functional centralisation found within the states is paralleled by that between the states and the federal government. Although the constitutional relationship, as already indicated, is different it is interesting to note the functional range of federal grants to States. As of 1955, there were 61 separate federal aid programmes which can be grouped under such headings as: education, research and specialised direct services, agriculture, forestry, highways, public health, vocational rehabilitation, employment security and public assistance, wild-life restoration, disaster relief, civil defence, hospital survey and construction, veterinary services, airport development, slum clearance, urban planning and renewal. If we compare these broad headings with the grants of power under Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution of 1787, it would be hard to find a single one of these categories, to say nothing of the specific items, which could be directly related to one of the original federal powers. Their inclusion in accepted

federal action reflects how far economic, social, and technological changes over the past 169 years have affected the functional range of federal action.

### *Fiscal Aspects and Implications*

As already suggested, the most pervasive form of centralising action either by the States or Washington is the grant-in-aid. Many formulas have been worked out by both the state and the federal governments for local and state participation as to the basis of apportionment of grants and of matching requirements. As federal funds flow increasingly directly to localities, with only a formal channelling through the state governments, the problems of equitable allocation and appropriate matching formulas, will, no doubt, increase because of the wide variations in economic and social needs between localities in different states. The whole philosophy of the grant-in-aid system, indeed, needs periodic review to ensure its adequacy to meet the differentials in the changing conditions underlying a particular grant. The relations between grants and subsidies and the effects of different types of grant and subsidy and of different grant formulas are all matters of urgent and sometimes critical importance in the effective development of programme and of federalism.

In a free society, it can be assumed that political pressures will be applied by interested parties to obtain maximum benefits for themselves—at least as they conceive these benefits. Alignments of the states and cities in national “pressure groups”, and the differences in economic and social resources of different states and communities noted above, may be expected to affect allocations and formulas even more openly in the future than they have in the past. The development of a specific state or national aid programme has many functional and administrative overtones which may induce open political action.

Some further implications of the grant-in-aid may be noted. In many states, grants to local communities represent substantial proportions of both tax collections and local budgets. The same is true for some of the less wealthy states so far as federal grants are concerned; these grants may represent a major item in the state budget. Thus, policy at the state level and also at the local level will be vitally affected by the range and size of grants between governmental levels. Since the economic effects of grants are so important to some states and many communities, their political effects on local and state tax policies may become important. The long-run impact of grant-in-aid programme may be more pervasive than its immediate purpose.

Grants may meet some of the problems in federalism, such as the need for equalisation of opportunity between differentially advantaged

areas (e.g., education) and the stimulation of local initiative in the development of services. Less evidence exists as to the effects of different types of grant (or allocation) on continued local interest and initiative. How, for instance, do specific, as compared with block, grants affect programme initiative at the lower level of government? Little evidence on this and similar points can be derived from current American experience.

The "Report of the Finance Commission, 1957" just released, provides significant answers to some of the questions in this area. It is indeed a major contribution to contemporary thinking and will be widely acclaimed outside India. After reviewing recent Indian experience and programmes in other federal states (para 45-58) the Commission proceeds to develop a thoughtfully conceived set of principles of 'grants-in-aid' (para 59-66). To the foreign observer these principles have wider implications and applications than to India alone during the Second Plan. They reflect the Commission's acumen in balancing the Centre's consent for meeting national targets in specific programmes with incentives to the States to contribute equitable shares materially and administratively.

The Press has already noted some of the Commission's specific recommendations such as those regarding shared taxes. The Commission's analyses of grants-in-aid to the States (paras 122-132) are no less important for completing the second Five Year Plan. The principle of "devolution of taxes" affects the fiscal policies of every federal state and is certainly applicable beyond as well in India. The Commission has here buttressed the forces of democracy in decision-making at the local level. The Commission's courageous stand on these grants—that they should be made unconditionally and not limited by central review of each State's success in implementation—has wide implications. Its considerations to avoid matching grants (paras 190-192) point in the same direction.

### *Administrative aspects of Federalism*

Problems in interlevel administrative co-ordination are clearly of the first importance, especially in a federal government. At the state and local levels, too, interlevel co-operation is becoming useful, even urgent, in many functional fields.

At the state level, the interstate compact as an intralevel device is being extended to many new areas. The federal constitution allows the states to enter into agreements among themselves, with Congressional assent—now not infrequently authorized in advance of state action. About 100 compacts between from two to over half the states are now in force. Subject-matter ranges from boundary

settlements, control of water supply or sewage disposal, disaster (forest-fire or war-damage) co-ordination, and conservation of natural resources to control of migratory relief clients, juveniles—and husbands. Another intralevel device exists in the Council of State Governments. It now includes a wide range of interstate co-operative activities and programmes. It is responsible for much integrative development at the policy level through the annual Governors' Conference (dating back to 1908) and the Committees on Interstate Co-operation now found in all the state legislatures. At the administrative level, the Council organizes many national and regional conferences of state officials in various functional fields: law, highways, education, welfare, etc. It serves as a research clearing house for many of these groups and stimulates their own organization as independent associations with their own programmes and staffs. (It may be noted also that several important associations of state administrative officials in different functional areas are organized outside the Council). At the local level, the state Leagues of Municipalities provide some of the same types of intralevel co-operation as the Council of State Governments at the state level. Many functional areas of local and county government illustrate the same trend toward statewide (sometimes national) associations of administrative officials. It would, indeed, be difficult to mention any important local function without an association—in practically every state, and many on a nationwide basis. In overlapping functional areas, moreover (e.g. housing, highways), administrative officials from two or three levels will attend the same meetings and may belong to the same associations. The impact of these associations from the interlevel standpoint has already been mentioned; they operate in the state capitals as well as in Washington. From the intralevel standpoint, they facilitate, often induce, much official administrative co-operation.

On the governmental side, a few techniques for co-ordinating interlevel action, stimulating interlevel co-operation, have been developed in the U.S.A. Consultation and ultimate agreement on action, must, of course, take place between officials at two (quite frequently three) levels in any grant-in-aid programme. Coercion is here an ultimate sanction (e.g., withholding all or part of grant); very little would, however, result in any programme, were less formal resolutions of conflicts between levels not the rule. Most grant programmes do, in fact, create wide co-operative relations between officials at different levels.

For most large-scale programme agencies, both federal and state, there is a nationwide or statewide regional organization. The staffs of regional offices may perform both direct (e.g., tax collection) and

consultative (e.g., education) field services. In either case, they must necessarily deal with, often through, officials at another level. In some programmes, officials of one level may be authorized to carry out duties of those at another level (e.g., local, state, national, public-health officers; state, national game wardens; police in certain fields).

Finally, the device of the interlevel "conference" (often a training programme) is widely utilized in such fields as utilities, securities and transport regulation, taxation, labour legislation, police. Informal co-ordination of administrative practice between officials at different levels often creates positive co-operation in meshing national-state or state-local action.

This brief review of administrative devices for intralevel and inter-level co-ordination suggests the variety of administrative (and other) techniques, formal and informal, which American federalism has created. The reader will already have noted various analogies—and contrasts—with similar problems and practices in India. There is, of course, a strong balance here on the side of the Centre, constitutionally, politically (including the Parliamentary system), and administratively. May it be that, in the years ahead, the centrifugal forces, inherent in the traditions as well as the structure, of the U.S. will also appear here? May it also be that, if they do not appear spontaneously, they will have to be created in order to strengthen an already viable democracy?

### NOTES

The reader interested in this topic will find the following items useful:

Anderson, W., *The Nation and the States, Rivals or Partners?* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1955).

Benson, G.C.S., *The New Centralization* (N.Y., Farrar and Rinebart, 1941).

Clark, J.P., *The Rise of the New Federalism* (N.Y., Columbia, 1938).

Macmahon, A.W., *Federalism, Mature and Emergent* (Garden City, Doubleday, 1955).

#### *U.S. Government*

Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Report* and other documents (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1955).

First Hoover Commission, *Federal-State Relations* (81st Congress, 1st Session, Sen. Doc. 81).

White, L.C., *The States and the Nation* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1953).

## CORRESPONDENCE

### THE ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL IN INDIA— OVERSATURATION OR UNDERSATURATION OF INCENTIVES

*The Editor,  
IJPA.*

Sir,

The article entitled "The Administrative Personnel in India" by Shri P. Prabhakar Rao and Shri P.C. Suri, published in Vol. III, No. 3 issue of the *Journal*, plausibly starts with the problem of "securing in the service cadres integrity, creativeness and incentives, adequate to the three challenges of development, socialism and democracy", but proceeds to confine itself to the problem of oversaturation and undersaturation of incentives in the services. The gravamen of the authors' criticism seems to be against the oversaturation of incentives to the direct recruits to the I.A.S. The remedy suggested is the liberalisation of recruitment and promotion policies.

2. The assumption in the recruitment policies for all civil services of repute from the Chinese Civil Service of Confucian days down to the British Civil Service of today has been that only a competitive examination can bring out the best talent to man the administration. In England, ever since its first introduction in 1854 on the basis of the recommendations made in the Northcote-Trevelyan Report, the principle of competition in recruitment to the civil service has never been questioned. In India too, the tradition has been that of a competitive civil service. Its supreme merit is that it admits into it persons of ability and energy by open competition. It is impossible to over-stress the significance of this modern type of civil service which is neither elected from below nor appointed from above. About this H.G. Wells wrote in one place—"Elected it would be like the politician merely a reflection and an exploitation of the self-pushing person type; appointed it would be service to the masterful predatory adventurer."\* Even the present I.A.S. recruitment rules state that the first method of recruitment is by competitive examination.

3. The joint authors virtually recommend an abandonment of this tested and proved method of recruitment. They have mentioned

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\* "The Changing Civil Service", C. S. Venkatchar, I.C.S.; The Metcalfe Home Journal, Vol. II, No. 1.

some demerits in the competitive system to justify its abandonment. The first is that it requires "an expensive education in early years, which only 'better placed' persons can afford." This objection, which could have been readily accepted when the competitive examination was being held in England alone, is no longer tenable now when the competitive examination is held at several centres in India accessible to candidates of all regions. An analysis of the 'class composition' of direct recruits in recent years will certainly reveal that most of them do not come from the better placed class at all. They come mostly from the middle class—neither monied nor landed, a class which has only its intelligence to fall back upon. One really wonders what "expensive education in early years" is necessary for entry into the I.A.S. All that is required is a university degree. Is it intended that a university degree should not be a necessary qualification for entry into the civil service? If that is so, it will mean an abandonment of yet another major premise of our recruitment policy. At present "Broadly speaking a university degree in arts or the pure science is an essential qualification for direct recruitment not merely to the administrative and executive Services in India but also to many of the sub-executive and higher clerical Services".\* As it is, poverty is no bar to the entry by merit into the Indian Administrative Service.

4. Yet another argument advanced against direct competitive recruitment is the lowering of performance standard in competitive examinations. This, in turn, is attributed to the fact that "the standard of intellectual discipline, initiative and assimilated knowledge at universities has gone down in recent years." The alleged decline in the standards of university education and the competitive examination is an issue open to discussion; it cannot obviously be taken for granted. Falling marks do not *ipso facto* imply a fall in the standard. Marks obtained in a year show the relative performance of candidates of the same year. They are not adequate basis for comparing the merit of candidates of different years. It must also be borne in mind that the overall percentage of marks is partly determined by the marks obtained in *viva voce*. However, the real issue involved is not that of absolute standards but of relative standards only. If deterioration has set in the best class of people, it is not likely that elsewhere the standards have risen; on the other hand deterioration is likely to be far worse in occupations other than the public services. It is not that there is fall in the standard in universities and the rise in the standard elsewhere. It is not that the calibre of the competitive recruits to the I.A.S. has fallen and that of nominated recruits has risen. The only relevant

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\* Recruitment to Public Services, IJPA, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 152.

point to be considered is this: "Assuming a deterioration in the general standard of national performance, what is the best way of selecting administrative talent?" And the answer must be "by competition alone".

5. The principle that competition should be the principal method of recruitment to the I.A.S. is thus unassailable. Any other principle must surely be considered to be a retrograde step. In recent years, however, this principle seems to have been given a go-by in India. The transitional factor in the shape of disappearance of the British element and the long term need of augmenting of the strength of the civil service *pari passu* with the expansion of public sector, both these have led to a sudden liberalisation of recruitment to the I.A.S. Recruitment methods other than that of the competitive examinations have tended to make the I.A.S. a predominantly nominated service. This is borne out by an analysis of the composition of several I.A.S 'cadres'. An analysis of the cadre of which the writer is a member shows that of the total strength of 74, only 14 are direct recruits to the I.A.S. and only four are from the I.C.S., the rest (56) being all nominated members of the I.A.S. This is true about the other cadres too. It has been clearly stated in the Second Five Year Plan that "The requirements of personnel belonging to this service (the I.A.S.) have recently been reviewed in terms of likely needs over the next 5 years, and arrangements for taking 386 additional officers from among persons with previous experience have been decided upon. This will be in addition to recruitment during the next five years of 225 persons in the junior scale through competitive examination". It is, therefore, obvious that the present trend of recruitment to the I.A.S. is towards overliberalisation which has made it a predominantly nominated service. Some cadres of the I.A.S. are but old wines of state civil services in new bottles. Thus the I.A.S. no longer has the characteristics of a competitive service. It has lost its *esprit de corps*. It has become an amorphous body of heterogeneous elements. It has lost the unity and strength which common background and tradition alone give. One can no longer be sure that an I.A.S. officer today is a product of a particular training considered as indispensable for the highest administrator. One can no longer be sure that an officer in charge of a Division must have been first in charge of a District nor that an officer in charge of a District must have been first in charge of 'Sub-Division'.

6. The overliberalisation of recruitment to the I.A.S. is likely to destroy more incentives than it would create. The continuous induction of nominated officers may dampen the initiative and lower the

morale of the officers directly recruited. The nomination of some from the state services to the I.A.S. to the exclusion of others, may be a disincentive to those who are excluded for reasons not as objective as the result of an open examination. The authors have recognized "the preservation of integrity in the service especially against the corroding political influences" as an important problem. The increasing nomination is likely to make this problem graver.

7. Referring to the undersaturation of incentives to the nominated recruits to the I.A.S. as against the oversaturation of incentives to the direct competitive recruits, the joint authors point out that 472 officers would have to retire without reaching the top level. It is surprising how this could be considered as an undersaturation of incentives. After all those who enter into a service at an advanced age cannot expect to reach the top level. Their nomination to an all-India service, though they had started their careers as members of State service only, does itself constitute an oversaturation of incentives. The joint authors have also referred to the problem of under-incentive to the junior development personnel; but the growing echelon of development administration would itself provide sufficient incentive to them. Since their field of experience is confined to the state only, their entrance into the I.A.S. in large numbers will decidedly affect adversely the outlook and high traditions of the service which go with its all-India character.

8. The overliberalisation mentioned above has not only led to the abandonment of the principle of merit, it has also brought about an eclipse of the real all-India character of the service. The nominated element which now predominates the Indian Administrative Service is completely steeped in state traditions. While most of the direct recruits go to states other than their home-states, the nominated elements tenaciously cling to their own states. All this is not conducive to the unifying force which an all-India service along with other institutions is supposed to give.

9. All in all, today, in the recruitment to the I.A.S. there is too much liberalisation and not too little. The problem is really universal. In the haste for expansion—expansion of state activities, expansion of education, expansion of medical facilities—are we going to sacrifice merit and quality by excessive liberalisation? If we do so we will defeat the very purpose we aim at. Let us make haste slowly.

Yours faithfully,

P. R. Dubhashi

## II

Sir,

Shri Dubhashi's criticism appears to be based on a misunderstanding of certain basic assumptions underlying our article. Shri Dubhashi, generally assumes that (1) the competitive system of recruitment is an end by itself, and (2) merit selection from amongst a limited group is 'nomination'.

2. That the 'competitive system' is not an end itself has never been a matter of dispute. The competitive method is intended both to eliminate "political patronage" and to secure "unusual intellectual attainments". In the top civil service, the most essential qualities that have to be ensured are continuous initiative and the capacity to integrate diverse talents and to secure the co-ordination necessary for achieving the "ends" of the Governments. This is a role requiring extraordinary intellectual and organisational leadership coupled with an adequate measure of philosophic detachment. The measuring of these qualities on the basis of relevant standards only is, therefore, not enough; it is imperative that the devices adopted for recruitment secure unusual intellectual attainment. This is what the Northcote-Trevelyan Report laid special stress on. That Report also favoured "promotion generally by merit". The main theme running throughout the article is the same—the need to secure outstanding individuals for the top echelons of the civil service from all sources within the administration and even from the academic disciplines.

3. We have nowhere advocated the abandonment of merit as the criterion of recruitment; we have, on the other hand, pleaded that the method of 'selection' on basis of merit should be used to a greater extent than at present with a view to both providing requisite promotion opportunities for administrative talent which develops within the services to come to the top and broad-basing the internal incentives. The principle of merit remains unassailable both under a competitive system of direct recruitment and selection based on merit. To confuse the latter with nomination, as Shri Dubhashi does, is to controvert facts to suit one's prejudices which plague the field of public administration so much today. The same applies in a way to Shri Dubhashi's criticism of our conclusion about the undemocratic character of the present system of expensive education so far as direct recruitment of the I.A.S. is concerned. He forgets that a very small fraction of 1% of the population are graduates in the country. Incidentally, the reference in our article to the two emergency bulk recruitments to the I.A.S. does not imply that this should become a recurrent

feature. They were intended to meet a situation which could not perhaps be foreseen sufficiently in advance. How far these methods have succeeded in selecting the right type of personnel can be known only if a follow-up study is undertaken.

4. The oversaturation of incentives for direct recruits which we specially brought out in our article has to come in for severe criticism at the hands of Shri Dubhashi. It was never suggested that persons who enter the I.A.S. at an advanced age, in all cases, should reach the top level. But it is decidedly wasteful not to provide opportunities for rising to the top to a large number of officers of proved abilities who are employed in the lower echelons of the various chains of administrative hierarchy and at the same time allow *effortless* opportunities to direct recruits to rise. A promotion should always be earned and no one should be able to glide up without any challenge.

5. The manifold complex tasks in the field of development and welfare involved in building up a new social structure present a challenge to the service. We should go a long way to instill into it *esprit de corps*. Let us face the challenge in the right spirit and not look for "common background and traditions" of an out-of-date past, which is not in keeping with the secular and socialistic pattern that we have set as our ultimate goal.

Yours faithfully,  
P. Prabhakar Rao  
P. C. Suri

## EDITORIAL NOTES

In the first issue of Volume I, published in April '55, we had ventured to express the hope that the *Journal* would increasingly become the national forum for exchange of information and discussion of contemporary problems of Public Administration in India. With the present issue, which marks the completion of the third year of its career, it is possible thankfully to assert that the hope has not been belied.

This issue contains articles on some important administrative problems of the day—on expanding governmental functions and operations by *Shri H. M. Patel*, on problems of university administration by *Shri C.D. Deshmukh* and on smoothness and stability of relations between the Government and the Party by *Shri N. V. Gadgil*. The readers may find equally interesting the article by *Prof. Phillips Bradley* on inter-governmental relations in the U.S., especially in the light of some of the corresponding aspects of the contemporary Indian situation as recently lime-lighted in the report of the Second Finance Commission.

—Editor

## RECENT TRENDS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

*(The Institute started a monthly Newsletter early in 1957. It makes available to readers detailed information about recent events in the field of public administration in India. Instead of repeating our usual news feature, we, therefore, thought it would be useful to present, without going into too much details, a bird's-eye view of developments which have taken place in India during the last six months generally. This summary, we hope, will help to highlight the trends.—Ed.)*

### I. Services Organisation and Recruitment Methods

In recent months, several steps have been taken by the Governments in India in the direction of the reorganisation and strengthening of service cadres and imparting of an element of elasticity to methods of recruitment. At the Centre, two service-cadres—the Central Health Service and the Central Legal Service—were created for manning posts primarily of medical and legal character respectively. The scheme for the creation of Central Administrative Pool made further progress. Rules regarding pay and other conditions of service of officers both of Grade I and Grade II, to be included in the Pool, have been formulated. The selection will be made by a Committee of Senior Secretaries, including the Cabinet Secretary and a representative of the Central Services, headed by the Chairman of the U.P.S.C. The strength of the I.A.S. cadres for Assam, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Bombay was suitably increased. One hundred and eighty State Officers were promoted to the I.A.S. as a special recruitment quota, bringing the total number of the I.A.S. officers in position to 1583 (this number includes 77 probationers at present undergoing training at the I.A.S. Training School, Delhi). The authorised permanent strength of the Grade I, II and III cadres of the Central Secretariat Service was increased from 225, 389 and 540 to 347, 421 and 589 respectively. In U.P. the separate service-cadres of the three branches of the Secretariat, viz. the General, the Finance and the Public Works, have been merged to form a common pool of personnel in order to widen the area of promotions.

There is manifest a general trend towards the reorientation of recruitment methods. Parliament has recently enacted legislation doing away with the requirement of domicile in States concerned for public appointments. Following the recommendations of the Public Service (Qualifications for Recruitment) Committee, the Government of Mysore has revised the essential requirements for direct recruitment to the State Ministerial Services to allow candidates with an intermediate or its equivalent certificate to compete for posts of first division clerks, and those with S.S.L.C. or its equivalent for lower ministerial jobs. The Government of Punjab has also abolished the degree requirement in regard to 50% of the new vacancies of clerks in the Secretariat and Finance

Commissioner's Office and has thrown open these posts to first-class matriculates and second class under-graduates.

At the Centre, the Union Government has ordered that the personality test, which forms part of the combined competitive examination held annually by the Union Public Service Commission for recruitment to the I.A.S. and allied Services, will no longer carry any qualifying marks. The marks secured in the personality test would be added to the marks obtained in written papers and candidates would be ranked on the basis of the total. At the instance of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, the Union Public Service Commission has also worked out an improved procedure for recruitment of scientific and technical personnel, with a view to introducing elements of flexibility and speed. The Commission will group together vacancies, for which, more or less, similar qualifications, experience, etc., are required, and proceed to make bulk selections. This would obviate the necessity of fresh advertisements being issued every time a vacancy occurs. It has also been decided that, in cases where persons with sufficient practical experience are not available, practical experience should be made an additional, instead of an essential, qualification. The intention is that, so long as shortage of technical personnel continues, Government should be prepared to provide, whenever possible, practical training to comparatively inexperienced personnel after taking them into services, instead of demanding practical experience as a pre-requisite for entry into service. Possibilities are also being explored of instituting a continuous open competition (*i.e.*, with no closing date), as in the U.K., in the classes of posts in which number of applicants is regularly smaller than the number of vacancies.

To take fuller advantage of the experience of the senior service-men by retaining their services for a longer period, the State Government of U.P. has raised the age of retirement from 55 to 58 years both for State Government servants and the employees of local bodies. In the defence services the age for compulsory retirement or release for officers of the rank of major and below has been raised from 40 to 50 temporarily. Further, with a view to providing a wider field of selection and greater opportunities for a larger number of serving soldiers to apply for Commission in the Army the maximum age-limit for entry has been raised from 25 to 27.

The State Government of *Bihar* has recently successfully experimented with a scheme for the raising of the educational standards of entrance to the higher levels of State Police Services. During the years 1953-56, the State Government tried in some areas an experiment of recruiting 50 per cent of the Inspectors of Police, meant for holding charge of police stations, directly from the open market by competition through the State Public Service Commission. The scheme has been now extended to the whole metropolitan district of Patna.

## **II. Manpower Planning & Training**

The assessment of and planning for country's manpower requirements appear to have received considerable impetus in recent months. In order to supplement the data collected by the Engineering Personnel Committee, which submitted its report in 1956, detailed studies have been undertaken by the Planning Commission in regard to employment of engineers in manufacturing industries, in electric undertakings and in engineering in general. A Committee has been set up by the Ministry of Commerce &

Industry to assess requirements of craftsmen training. The employment marketing information programme of the Union Ministry of Labour & Employment has made further progress and the States are now in the process of putting the necessary staff in position. The report of the Agricultural Personnel Committee, which was appointed by the Union Government in March 1957, is expected shortly; its recommendations would cover not only agricultural personnel but also personnel required for community projects and national extension service, for industries connected with agriculture, and for agricultural economic research. In order to help meeting the shortage of technical and scientific personnel, the Central Government has decided that the National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel, maintained by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, should be reorganised and expanded to provide comprehensive and authoritative information on national resources of scientific and technical personnel. The manpower studies which are in progress are designed not only to serve as the basis for the extension of facilities for technical and scientific education but also to throw light on the need for strengthening of appropriate training facilities in the country. Realising the latter's importance, some of the State Governments have recently set up separate departments of technical training and education. For instance, the Government of *Andhra Pradesh* has constituted a 23-member Board of Technical Education and Training consisting both of officials and non-officials, to advise them on the co-ordinated development of technical education in the State at all levels.

In the field of training, the Central Government has instituted for the first time a refresher and re-orientation course for the I.A.S. Officers. The first course began at Simla on May 15; and the second, on September 2. Seminars and syndicates form important features of the system of instruction. The course includes attachment to central Ministries for a duration of a fortnight.

Schemes for training of Officers recruited to the State Administrative Services have also in recent months received a fillip. The Government of *Rajasthan* has decided to establish a Training School for training of officers of the Rajasthan Administrative Service. This institution, to be located at Jodhpur, will be utilised mainly for the training of persons directly recruited to the R.A.S. It will also provide refresher courses for officers already in service and for subordinate revenue officials. The *Assam* O & M Division has evolved a scheme for training I.A.S. and A.C.S. Officers. It is an enlargement of the existing training programme in survey and settlement and is designed to give a grounding in the laws, rules and regulations of special application in the State. This will be the first training course for the Assam Civil Service Officers in subjects other than survey and settlement. The scheme provides for practical training as a part of the course. The Government of *Bihar* recently organised an Administrative Officers' Seminar at Rajgiri. It was attended, among others, by the District Magistrates, Sub-Divisional Officers, Development and Dy. Development Commissioners of the State. A six-week training course for newly recruited clerks and those with less than one year's service is being organised in the *Punjab*.

The Union Government have decided to revise the syllabus of training at the I.P.S. Training School, Mount Abu, in order to include studies of crime psychology, scientific aids in detection of crime, methods of combating

corruption, and fire and emergency relief. It has also been decided to shift the School to Nagpur.

The first course at the Administrative Staff College at Hyderabad started on December 6. About 30 participants drawn from the Central and State Governments, public enterprises and private business establishments have been admitted to the first course; the number of candidates for future sessions will be increased to about 60 gradually. The greater part of the instruction is being carried out in syndicates of eight or ten so grouped that each syndicate represents a cross-section of administrative experience. Mr. J.W.L. Adams, a member of the staff of the Administrative Staff College at Henley-on-Thames in England, is assisting in planning and conducting the work of the first four sessions.

### III. Conditions of Service

With the rise in the cost of living during the year, most of the States have granted an increase in the dearness allowance of low-paid government employees, e.g., Andhra Pradesh, Bombay, Bihar, Kerala, Madras, Mysore, Rajasthan, West Bengal and U.P. The rise in the cost of living also led to a growing demand for revision of the salary structures of the lower ranks of the public services; this demand has become insistent in face of the recent emphasis on the reduction of economic inequalities in general. The Central Government appointed a Pay Commission, on the 21st August 1957, with *Shri Justice Jagannatha Dass* of the Supreme Court as its chairman, to enquire into the principles which should govern the structure of emoluments and conditions of service of Central Government employees, the changes therein desirable and feasible, and the extent to which the benefits of the Central Government employees can be given in the shape of amenities and facilities. In making its recommendations, the Commission is required to take into account, among other relevant factors, the historical background, the economic conditions in the country, and the implications and requirements of developmental planning, and also the disparities in the standards of remuneration and conditions of service of Central Government employees on the one hand, the employees of the State Governments, local bodies and aided institutions on the other. The Commission invited memoranda not only from the service organisations but also from government public servants in their personal capacity.

The Union Government has recently brought the benefits for Class IV employees, in regard to pension, medical aid and leave, on par with those for higher classes of civil servants. The minimum distance for the availability of P.T.O. railway concession has in their case been lowered from 250 to 100 miles. The Railway Administration has sanctioned, retrospective from April 1, 1957, a comprehensive pension scheme for railway employees. Over one million railway employees are expected to benefit from the scheme, which confers a retirement benefit after 30 years of qualifying service, or superannuation in the shape of a monthly pension plus a lump sum in the shape of a retirement gratuity up to a maximum of an employee's emoluments for 15 months.

### IV. Economy and Efficiency

The problem of balancing needs and resources in the framing and implementation of the Second Five Year Plan has high-lighted the need

to maximising true economy and efficiency in the Central and State Administrations. The Central Cabinet has appropriately called upon each Minister and Secretary "to devote urgent and continuous attention to the maintenance of efficiency, integrity and economy in administration". To this end, the Ministries have been directed to review the nature, volume and quality of the work done at all levels and to take practical steps to remove defects and effect economies. The Cabinet also decided earlier that when a new activity is undertaken or a new office or branch is to be opened, the most suitable organisation and methods should be settled in consultation with the O & M Division before any staff is appointed. The final responsibility for effecting economy rests with the individual Ministries, which are being assisted in this task by the Economy Unit of the Ministry of Finance and the Central O & M Division. Matters are discussed on the spot and, as far as possible, mutually agreed decisions arrived at. Outstanding issues are referred to a Committee consisting of the Principal Secretary, Finance, the Home Secretary, the Secretary of the administrative Ministry concerned and the Director, O & M. The Committee also generally guides and supervises the work of the Economy Unit. To implement the Cabinet's directive for reviewing the present work methods and staffing arrangements, most of the Ministries have set up Economy Boards or Committees at the level of the Ministry, and 'Economy Cells' at the level of the Department. Savings are being effected by cutting down non-essential items of expenditure on men and materials. The Ministries of Works, Housing & Supply and Irrigation and Power have issued specific instructions regarding the most economical use of raw materials like steel and cement, and the use of indigenous in place of imported materials.

Most of the State Governments have also set up economy committees to scrutinise redundant items of expenditure and devise ways and means for securing economies. The *Bihar* Government have set up an Evaluation Unit, staffed by a senior administrative officer, an expert economist and a finance and accounts officer and other staff, to assess the implementation of State schemes and project under the Second Plan. The reorganisation and overhaul of the administrative machinery through the institution of administrative reorganisation enquiries, *i.e.*, making the administrative system run at the same level of efficiency but at a lower cost, has been engaging the attention of several States.

Such enquiries have been started in Kerala, Madras, Andhra and Mysore. The terms of reference of the enquiry committee set up in *Andhra Pradesh*, under the Chairmanship of *Shri K. Brahmananda Reddi*, include the questions of re-deployment of surplus staff, if any, at all levels, and of redistribution of work to avoid duplication. In *Kerala*, the State Government has constituted a seven-man Administrative Reforms Committee, with the Chief Minister as chairman, to enquire into the working of the State administrative machinery in order to assess its adequacy for a democratic government in a welfare state and suggest measures for improving its efficiency. *Prof. V.K.N. Menon*, Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration, is a member of the said Committee. The *Madras* Government has appointed *Shri T.N.S. Raghavan*, Member, Board of Revenue, as Special Officer to suggest re-organisation wherever necessary and economies wherever possible; his terms of reference include the creation of a permanent 'O & M' Division in the State Secretariat, retrenchment of surplus staff, "yard-sticks" for determining staff complements, merging of 50% dearness allowance with pay,

and the appointment of a Financial Commissioner on a permanent basis and his relationship with Departments and the Government. The *Mysore* Government has secured the services of *Shri A.D. Gorwala*, an expert in public administration and retired ICS officer, to suggest steps for the toning up of State administration. *Shri Gorwala* will study the present sources of State revenue, and suggest steps for the efficient administration of the existing taxation laws. He is also to review the arrangements made for the administration of state-owned industries and suggest a pattern of administration for their efficient management and future development.

The Government of *Bombay* has asked *Shri V.T. Dehejia*, I.C.S., Special Secretary, Political & Services Department, to enquire into the organisation and working of district, sub-divisional, taluka and mahal revenue offices, in particular, structural arrangements, simplification and streamlining of work procedures, standards of workload, staff standards and training, public relations, and the integration of executive and development functions in revenue offices. In *U.P.*, the recent emphasis has been on the reorganisation of the district collectorate. Efforts have also been concentrated on reducing paperwork, by introducing a system of passing of files by Heads of Departments to the Secretariat for obtaining the latter's orders, in place of the existing method of communication by letters.

A trend connected with the movement for a general administrative reorganisation, afoot, in the States, has been the delegation of enhanced financial and revenue powers. In *Mysore*, orders have been passed for delegation of greater financial powers to Heads of Departments in pursuance of the recommendations of a Secretariat Sub-Committee on the subject appointed in June 1956. The State Government has also separated the work of Sales Tax Tribunals from the Board of Revenue and constituted two separate tribunals, i.e., the Revenue Appellate Tribunal and the Sales Tax Appellate Tribunal. As a measure of uniformity in the nomenclature of revenue officials, the heads of revenue administration at the district, sub-division, and taluk levels have been redesignated as Deputy Commissioners, Assistant Commissioners, and Tehsildars, respectively. In *Orissa* in pursuance of the policy of decentralisation of administration for ensuring better administrative control and more expeditious work, the 3-member Board of Revenue of the state was transformed into a single-member Board of Revenue with effect from August 30. The regional functions performed by the Board of Revenue have now been entrusted to the Revenue Divisional Commissioners whose appointments have been authorised by the Revenue Divisional Commissioners Act, 1957. The State Government has also given to the Revenue Divisional Commissioners as large a measure of administrative control over the Orissa Administrative Service (Class II) and the Orissa Subordinate Administrative Service as possible, consistent with Government's own responsibility in the matter, for efficient and speedy disposal of Government business.

The *Bombay* Government has delegated some of its powers to the Bombay Revenue Tribunal and the Divisional Officer of Vidharbha to facilitate speedy revenue administration in Vidharbha. The State Government has further brought about uniformity in the powers delegated to the heads of districts, for approval and sanction of schemes under the local works programme, which formerly varied from region to region in the different parts of the new Bombay State.

A large number of new departments have been set up in the States—"Social Welfare Department" and "Small Industries and Industrial Co-operatives Department" in *Bombay*, "Department of Minor Ports" in *Mysore*, and "Department of Indology, Culture and Scientific Research," in *U.P.* The *Bombay* Government has also constituted a Committee of Ministers to promote quick decisions and expeditious action on requests for grants or acquisition of land, provision of water supply and electric energy, construction of approach roads, provision of railway siding, etc., for industries.

## V. Financial Administration

The Second Finance Commission has, in its recent report, proposed a devolution of an annual sum of Rs. 140 crores to the States, by way of share in central revenues and general grants-in-aid, as against an average of Rs. 93 crores during the five years ended 1956-57. In addition, the States will together gain a relief to the extent of Rs. 5 crores per year as the result of a scheme proposed by the Commission for the consolidation of central loans to them. The three principal means for the award of a greater share of central revenues to the State are: an increase in the divisible pool of income-tax from 55 per cent to 60 per cent, the addition of five commodities to the existing list of three of which the proceeds of central excise duties are now shared with the States, and the disbursement of substantial grants-in-aid to 11 out of the 14 States.

The Commission has, in unequivocal terms, opposed the system of matching grants, which, it considers, has no place when the country has an integrated and comprehensive plan laying down priorities for the development of social services. It has further urged the need for caution in matters of administrative reorganisation. "With practically all the available resources earmarked for the plan or for meeting committed expenditure, administrative re-organisation involving increase in non-development expenditure should not be undertaken unless it is inescapable. Even then, it should be phased over as long a period as possible".

The recommendations of the Finance Commission were among the subjects discussed at the Conference of the State Finance Ministers (New Delhi, November 18). The Conference also considered questions of preventing tax evasions, collection of income-tax arrears and the amendment of the Sales Tax Act.

## VI. Judicial Administration

In the field of judicial administration the general trend has been in the direction of formation of measures for speedy and cheap justice. The Law Ministers' Conference which met in New Delhi from September 18 to 21, recommended several measures for clearing the arrears and expediting the disposal of work, including the establishment of a high-power committee in each State and at the Centre to review the government pending cases and write applications, the fixation of a minimum of 210 working days of five-and-a-half hours for High Courts and increase in the number of and the enhancement of powers exercised by the single judges of High Courts. The Conference also approved of the suggestions of the Union Law Minister for a common agency to look after litigation (other than relating to income-tax) on behalf of the Central and State Governments. Other

recommendations related to the appointment of vigilance officers for High Courts and District Courts, the establishment of an expert committee in each State to investigate the claim for free legal aid for the poor, revival of the "attachee system" for training of States' draughtsmen, and the separation of the executive from the judiciary.

In order to facilitate early disposals of writs against tax assessments and labour award, which have gone into arrears, the Central Government are actively considering a proposal to constitute administrative tribunals with some of characteristics of the French administrative courts. The scheme would involve an amendment of the Constitution for the transference of the part of the writ powers of the High Courts and the Supreme Court.

Further progress has been reported in regard to the separation of judiciary from the executive. Separation has been virtually completed in Assam, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras and Kerala and partially in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, U.P., Rajasthan and Mysore.

## **VII. Educational Administration**

The most significant development in the field of educational administration in recent months was the convening of a Conference on University Administration by the Ministry of Education, at the instance of the Indian Institute of Public Administration. The Conference was inaugurated by *Shri C.D. Deshmukh*, Chairman, University Grants Commission. It discussed, for the first time in India, matters of university administration, such as the method of appointment of and code of conduct for Vice-Chancellors, the composition and problems of university executive bodies, financial arrangements and relations with School Boards, and administrative problems of students and teachers—matters which had not so far received adequate attention as compared to questions like courses of studies and methods of examination.

The teaching of public administration at universities has shown further progress. A 'Reader' in the subject has been appointed by Delhi University; the Poona University has set up a new department of "Politics and Public Administration" to commemorate the birth-day centenary of *Shri Lokmania Tilak*.

The State Education Ministers, who met at New Delhi from September 20-21, recommended that each State Government might set up committees to evaluate qualitatively and quantitatively selected educational schemes under the five year plan, such as multi-purpose schools, basic training colleges, youth welfare programmes, etc. While nationalisation of text books would be in the interest both of pupils and teachers, it should be left to each State Government to experiment in the field in its own way in the light of the local conditions.

The Union Ministry of Education and Scientific Research has recently set up an advisory committee to bring up-to-date the two volumes of "Selections from Educational Records" which were first published in 1919 and 1922 respectively by Messrs H. Shart and J.A. Richey, the then Educational Commissioners to the Government. The volumes cover the period 1781-1859. The Ministry has also decided to establish a Central Advisory

Board of Anthropology to advise on matters relating to anthropology and to promote closer contacts between the Union Department of Anthropology, State Governments, universities and other institutions engaged in research or training in the field.

### VIII. Local Government and Community Development

The two important recent trends in the field of local government are in the direction of the overall reorganisation of the local administrative machinery and the creation of popular agencies at the district, tehsil or bloc levels. Both the trends are inter-related and point towards the changing patterns of local government organisation in India.

In *Madhya Pradesh*, the State Government have set up two advisory enquiry committees—"Rural Local Self-Government Committee" and "Urban Local Self-Government Committee"—to advise them on achieving the necessary uniformity in the present divergent forms and functions of local self-government institutions in the state and integrating the various laws pertaining to them.

A Panchayats Union, a statutory joint body with functions, funds and executive staff of its own, has been formed in North Madurai in *Madras* State. Legislation has recently been introduced in the State Assembly, providing for the constitution of a Panchayat Union for every development block, of Panchayat Union Joint Committees, and of District Development Councils which are to replace the present District Planning Boards. It is also proposed to reorganise the Madras City Corporation with a view to increasing the number of electoral divisions, the abolition of the system of Aldermen and special constituencies, and the formation of common cadres of services with a common system of recruitment and control and of interchangeability of staff. In *Kerala*, the State Government has appointed committees at taluk and district levels for the delimitation of panchayat areas as a preliminary to the holding of general elections to panchayats early next year under the new unified law. The Government is also drafting a Village Panchayats Bill to grant wider powers to panchayats to enable them to undertake certain local works now being executed by government agencies.

With a view to democratising and decentralising district administration, the creation of popular bodies at the block and district levels has been strongly advocated in final report by the Study Team on Community Development and National Extension Service which was set up by the Committee on Plan Projects in January last, with Shri Balwantray Mehta as the chairman. At the bloc level, the Team favours the establishment of a statutory, elected, popular body to be called *Panchayat Samiti* with comprehensive functions in matters of local development and adequate powers of levying taxes and cesses. At the district level, there should be a *Zilla Parishad*, consisting of presidents of all *Samitis*, of all M.L.A.s and M.P.s and all principal officers in the District concerned, with the Collector as the chairman. The *Parishad* will co-ordinate the block plans and allot funds between various blocks: it will, however, have no executive functions. Through devolution of power to a smaller body would be the most effective method of democratic decentralisation, in States where the establishment of a *Samiti* at the block level is not considered feasible, a popular district body constituted similarly may

be set up. The Team stresses that, if this experiment of democratic decentralisation is to yield maximum results, it is necessary that all the three tiers of the scheme, *e.g.*, village panchayats, panchayat samitis and zilla parishad, should be started at the same time and operated simultaneously in the whole district. The proposal for the creation of popular bodies at the block level was discussed earlier at the third meeting of the Central Council of Local Self-Government held at Srinagar from September 26 to 28. While the Council recognised the need for a popular co-ordinating agency at the block level and of a district organisation to co-ordinate and guide work in the district as a whole, it felt that the character, composition and functions of these bodies required further consideration.

The Study Team has, among others, recommended a shift in emphasis from welfare activities to the more demanding aspects of economic development; the abolition of the distinction between the three phases of C.D. Programme, commonly known as the N.E.S. stage, the intensive development stage and the post-intensive development stage; the extension by 3 years of the time-limit to cover the entire country with NES blocks, owing to limited financial resources and shortage of technical and supervisory personnel; the restriction of the activities of the Central Government to assisting the State Governments with finances, to co-ordinating research at the highest level and to evolving, in consultation with the States, a common national policy consonant with the various five year plans; the Gram Sewak to work as Development Secretary of the village panchayat but not to be burdened with any administrative or office work; a complete separation of the functions between the Gram Sewak and the Talati or the village accountant at the village level; provision of a whole-time additional Collector to relieve the Collector of the general administrative duties; and a periodical appraisal, by an evaluating agency, besides the P.E.O., of the progress made and problems encountered in community development programme. Shri B.G. Rao, a member of the Team, in a note of dissent, has opposed the Gram Sewak's appointment as Development Secretary of the panchayat, on the ground that it will tend to nullify his primary role as an extension worker. He further favours the abolition of the Ministry of Community Development, which, he considers, is not "merely unnecessary and wasteful but also likely to lead to a lack of co-ordination and blurring of responsibilities."

## **IX. Public Enterprises**

With the speedy growth of the public sector, increasing attention has come to be devoted to the administrative problems relating to the proper organisation and management of the public enterprises. The formation of the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel and the re-allocation of responsibilities for the public sector as between certain Ministries was designed to help in the solution of these problems. The Union Government has recently set up a 35-member "Co-ordinating Committee for Industrial Projects," with the object of providing a central forum for discussion of common problems of all the industrial undertakings in the public sector and to facilitate the pooling together of their experiences in meeting these problems. The Committee has further appointed three sub-committees on 'labour and personnel', 'production and training' and 'finance, purchases and sales' respectively.

The three State steel enterprises have now been brought under one management—The Hindustan Steel Limited. There is also a visible trend

towards the disappearance of the Secretary of the controlling Ministries from the management boards of public enterprises, and towards the appointment of non-official chairmen. A recent innovation in top-management control has been to place the general supervision of the operations of a corporate state enterprise under an autonomous statutory board, e.g., the National Co-operative Development and Warehousing Board in case of the Central Warehousing Corporation. With the threatened cut in the finances of the second plan, the public enterprises are not as sure of their resources as before and are, therefore, generally devoting greater attention to effect economy in operational costs.

The Central Government is shortly bringing forward a bill to amend the Damodar Valley Corporation Act to vest the Government, if necessary, with the entire control and charge of the D.V.C. as in the case of the Tennessee Valley Authority (U.S.A.).

In the field of road transport, the Sixth All-India Conference of State Transport Undertakings, which was held at Chandigarh from October 28-29, stressed, *inter alia* that in order to protect the interests of State undertakings as well as of other operators, the Government should ensure that manufacturers follow a scientific method of price fixation, should appoint an officer to provide liaison between the manufacturers and the users, and also set up an organisation to analyse and disseminate transport statistics. The Union Government have decided to set up an Inter-State Commission to co-ordinate, regulate and develop road transport throughout the country. It will also assess traffic trends, co-ordinate the operation of motor transport carriers with railways, waterways and coastal shipping. In Kerala, the single-member Commission, appointed to enquire into the working of the State national transport undertakings, has recommended the establishment of a three-member Appeal Board, consisting among others, an employee of the Department elected by its central staff council. The Board will deal only with appeals against orders passed by the Director of Transport himself; and the Government would have the right to revise the orders of the Board.

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## NEWS FROM ABROAD

### CANADA

#### *Salary Increases for the Canadian Civil Servants*

The Canadian Government has announced increases, ranging from 3½% to 12%, in the salaries of its about 140,000 civil servants and of 117,000 members of the Armed Forces and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. These increases, retroactive from May 1, 1957, are in pursuance of the recommendations made recently by the Canadian Civil Service Commission in its comparative review of the salary changes in the private and public sectors. They are expected to aid recruitment, reduce turnover, advance promotion opportunities and maintain proper salary relationships between and within the various classes of the public service.

### PAKISTAN

#### *A Taxation Enquiry Committee*

The Pakistan Government has appointed a seven-man Taxation Enquiry Committee, with Dr. Zahid Hussain as its Chairman, to examine the entire existing taxation structure—central, provincial and local—against the background of the present inflationary spiral. The terms of reference of the Committee include recommendations for removing and preventing concentration of income and wealth which are detrimental to the interests of the common man.

#### *A Pay Commission for Pakistan*

A Pay Commission has been set up in Pakistan under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice M. Ibrahim, a retired judge of the East Pakistan High Court, to go into the pay scales and other terms and conditions of service of Class III and IV employees of the Central Government and make recommendations for their revision "keeping in view the economic conditions and financial resources of Pakistan". The Commission may even recommend any interim relief pending its final report.

### UNITED KINGDOM

#### *A Royal Commission on Local Government in Greater London*

The U.K. Government has appointed a 7-man Royal Commission, with Sir Edwin Herbert, as the Chairman, to examine the present structure and working of the local government in Greater London—roughly the Metropolitan Police District. The Commission has been asked to recommend whether any, and if so what, changes in the local government structure and distribution of local authority functions in the area, or any part of it, would better secure "effective and convenient" local government. It has been further clarified that for purposes of the enquiry the term local government does not include the administration of police or of water.

### *Reform of Local Government*

Changes in the finance, structure, and powers of local government authorities in England and Wales are proposed in the Local Government Bill recently introduced in the British Parliament. The Bill is divided into three main parts. Part *one* re-rates industry at 50 per cent, instead of 25 per cent, and also substitutes over a large field of local government action a general (or block) grant for a percentage grant. On the principle that "the man in White-Hall" does not necessarily know best, the Bill proposes that from April 1, 1959, county and county borough councils shall receive a new general grant in place of a number of existing specific grants. Typical specific grants to be replaced will be those for education (other than school milk and school meals), health services, fire services, and child care. Part *two* provides for the setting up of two commissions (one for England, the other for Wales) to review the areas of counties and county boroughs, and to consider claims for extensions and also claims by large non-county boroughs (which means they would enjoy powers now in the stewardship of county councils). County Councils would then review county districts and parishes. Part *three* proposes that larger county district councils, more particularly boroughs and urban districts with 60,000 people or more, should be enabled to have a greater share of responsibilities delegated from the county councils—health, welfare, and educational functions. The White Paper on functions discussed a wider devolution of administrative responsibilities. This is one important point on which the Bill has veered away from the general drift of the three basic White Papers. The Bill, not rigidly but as a guide, raises the minimum population qualification for county borough status from 75,000 to 100,000, with an imposed delay of 15 years before the claim is staked.

### *The Ten Yearly Review of Method II of Recruitment to the Administrative Class*

The ten yearly review of Method II, recently carried out by the U.K. Civil Service Commission, showed that Method II had justified itself and Method I had continued to attract able candidates. The two methods have proved complementary, since some candidates entering by one door would not have gained entrance through the other. The H.M. Government has therefore decided to continue recruiting the administrative class by both the methods. Normally not more than half the vacancies will be filled by Method II. In the senior branch of the foreign service all recruitment for the past 10 years has been made through Method II alone; and a review here has also indicated satisfactory results. But, considering the recent experience in regard to the home civil service, the Government had decided to supplement Method II by Method I for the next 5 years. Not more than three quarters of vacancies will be allotted to Method II.

## UNITED STATES

### *A Career Executive Programme for the U.S. Federal Service*

The U.S. Government has constituted a 5-member bipartisan committee, under the chairmanship of *Mr. Arthur S. Flemming*, President of Ohio Wesleyan University to develop a "Career Executive Programmes" for the Federal Service. The Committee has been instructed to make its

recommendations in accordance with "sound merit system principles". The programme will initially be limited to federal career-employees with administrative or managerial experience in posts carrying \$12,800 to \$16,000 a year.

### *A Task Force on Reallocation of Federal and State Functions*

The U.S. Government has set up a Task Force to examine the question of reallocation of functions and revenues between the Federal and State Governments. The Task Force has been assigned responsibilities : (1) to designate functions that the states are ready and willing to assume and finance but that are now performed or financed in whole or part by the Federal Government; (2) to recommend the federal and state revenue adjustments required to enable the states to assume such functions; and (3) to identify functions and responsibilities likely to require future state or federal attention and to recommend the level of state or federal effort, or both, needed for effective action.

### *An Institute on American Overseas Operations*

The Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, U.S.A., has recently started an Institute on American Overseas Operations. The Institute has organised an intensive training programme, with scholarly standards, in areas of American overseas operations—private and public—including American foreign policy and administration, the Soviet challenge, culture patterns and social change, problems of economic development, and the American heritage at home and abroad. *Dr. Gerard J. Mangone*, who recently came to India with *Mr. Harlan Cleveland*, Dean of the School, is in charge of the programme.

## UNITED NATIONS

### *Working Party on U.N. Training Projects in Public Administration*

The Working Party of Experts which met at Geneva from October 8 to 16, discussed the major practical problems in regard to the organisation and operation of U.N. training projects in the field of public administration, criteria for and methods of their evaluation and suggestions for improving their effectiveness.

*Shri L.P. Singh*, I.C.S., Joint Secretary and Officer on Special Duty in the Ministry of Home Affairs, and a member of the Executive Council of the *Institute*, attended the meeting on behalf of the Government of India.

## INSTITUTE NEWS

### *Research Projects*

A Study Group has been set up by the Institute under the chairmanship of *Shri C.D. Deshmukh*, Chairman, University Grants Commission, to survey the changes and developments in the organisation of the Government of India since the attainment of freedom. The results of the survey will be published in a volume to be entitled "The Organisation of the Indian Central Government, 1947-57" on the lines of the volume "The Organisation of British Central Government, 1914-56" recently brought out by the Royal Institute of Public Administration, London. Most of the Ministries of the Government of India have designated an officer to assist the Institute in the project, by supplying detailed information on their organisation and working.

The Institute has also set up a Study Group on "Public Transport System in Delhi". The study is being supervised and guided by a group of experts actively concerned with the various aspects of the transport system in the Union Capital. The contemporary traffic problems are being analysed in detail and suitable solutions worked out.

Arrangements have been made for the preparation of descriptive studies on the functions, organisation and working of the All India Radio, the Ministry of Community Development and the Central Social Welfare Board.

### *Seminar on Administrative Problems of State Enterprises*

A Seminar on "Administrative Problems of State Enterprises in India" will be held under the auspices of the Institute at New Delhi on December 20-21. It will be attended by representatives of public enterprises, both central and state, the Central and State Governments, the private sector and universities. There will be four sessions and discussions will generally concentrate on (1) problems of top management, (2) internal administrative structures, and (3) external controls.

### *Lectures*

The following lectures were delivered under the auspices of the Institute during August-November:

August 12	Shri H.M. Patel, I.C.S., Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Government of India.	"Expanding Government" (first lecture in the series "Contemporary Problems of Expanding Government").
September 13	Dr. Carlos P. Ramos, Director, Institute of Public Administration, University of Philippines.	"The Movement for Administrative Reform in the Philippines."

October 14	Prof. Bert F. Hoselitz, Professor of Social Sciences, University of Chicago.	"Levels of Centralisation in Economic Development."
November 1	Dr. Frank P. Sherwood, Associate Professor of Public Administration and Director of Planning Programme, University of South California.	"The Teaching of Public Administration in the U.S.A."
November 4, 5, 6	Shri S.S. Khera, I.C.S., Secretary, Departments of Mines & Fuel, Government of India.	"District Administration in India."
November 12	Mr. Harlan Cleveland, Dean, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.	"Executive Leadership."
November 18	Prof. Archie T. Dotson, Associate Professor of Govern- ment, Cornell University.	"Administrative Pro- blems of Metropolitan- ism."

### *Distinguished Visitors*

The following distinguished visitors were received in the Institute during July-November:

*Prof. Phillips Bradley*, Professor in Political Science, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, U.S.A.

*Mr. Lam-Le-Trinh*, Assistant Secretary for administration, Department of Interior, Vietnam.

*Mr. Nguyen-Thanh-Cung*, Secretary General of the Presidency, Vietnam.

*Mr. Doan-Them*, Executive Staff Director for the Secretary of State for the Presidency, Vietnam.

*Mr. Chau Ngoc Thoi*, Director-General of Public Affairs, Vietnam.

### *Library*

Under the U.S.-India Wheat Loan Educational Exchange Programme, the Institute is to receive a gift of books on public administration up to a total value of \$ 5,000. Most of the books have already arrived and the remaining few are expected shortly. The list of books to be included in the gift was prepared by the Institute and they will constitute a valuable addition to the Institute's Library.

### *Regional and Local Branches*

A Local Branch of the Institute was set up at Trivandrum on September 18, with *Shri N.E.S Raghavachari*, I.C.S., Chief Secretary, Kerala Government,

as its Chairman and *Shri P.M. Mathew*, I.A.S., as Secretary. The Director was present on the occasion and explained the objects and plans of the Institute as well as the nature of the work which a Local Branch may undertake.

The number of members of the Institute at Bangalore having increased from 11 to 62, the Local Branch of the Institute at Bangalore has been converted into a full-fledged Regional Branch. *Shri P.V.R. Rao*, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to Mysore Government, is the Chairman, and *Shri N.S. Ramachandra*, I.A.S., Secretary.

### *Membership*

On the 30th November, 1957, the ordinary membership of the Institute stood at 954, life membership at 21 and corporate membership at 53.

### *The Building Programme*

The work for the construction of the Institute's buildings at the National Highway (Indra Prastha Estate) is in progress. The buildings are expected to be ready for occupation by the third quarter of 1958.

### *International Review of Administrative Sciences*

The Director, Prof. V.K.N. Menon, has been appointed a member of the Editorial Board of the International Review of Administrative Sciences.



## DIGEST OF REPORTS

**U.K. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNALS AND ENQUIRIES.** *London, H.M.S.O., 1957. vi, 115 p. Cmd. 218. 5s.*

The Committee was set up on 1st November, 1955, under the chairmanship of Sir Oliver Franks, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., C.B.E., with the following terms of reference:—

“To consider and make recommendations on:—

- (a) The constitution and working of tribunals other than the ordinary courts of law, constituted under any Act of Parliament by a Minister of the Crown or for the purposes of a Minister's functions.
- (b) The working of such administrative procedure as include the holding of an enquiry or hearing by or on behalf of a Minister on an appeal or as the result of objections or representations, and in particular the procedure for the compulsory purchase of land”.

### **(A) Background to the Enquiry**

The present report is the second on the subject that has been issued during the past twenty-five years. The first formed the second part of the Report of the Committee on Ministers' Powers (generally known as the Donoughmore Committee after the name of its chairman), which was published in 1932 (Cmd. 4060). At that period, there already existed a number of tribunals (almost entirely in the field of unemployment insurance and contributory and war pensions), and local authorities already possessed powers to acquire or to restrict the use of private land. During the intervening years, tribunals have considerably increased in number, their jurisdiction has extended over a wider range of subjects, and they have more extensive powers, which they use more frequently than before. The importance of the present enquiry rests upon the increasingly widespread impact on the individual of the effects of administrative law.

In the United Kingdom, there is no such hard and fast distinction between private and public law. Ordinary members of the public may dispute decisions taken by the administration under powers granted by legislation, but there is no uniform method of resolving these disputes. Some are heard in the courts of law according to established procedure; some are settled by specially constituted tribunals, outside the common law courts, which have been armed with particular powers to decide disputes; some are resolved by Ministers after public enquiries carried out by qualified inspectors either belonging to or appointed by the Departments concerned; over much of the field of public administration, there is no formal procedure for objecting or deciding on objections, although the aggrieved individual

can always complain to the appropriate administrative authority, to his Member of Parliament, to a representative organisation or to the Press'.

The present Committee was not required to concern itself with cases for which no formal procedure is provided; nor was it instructed to consider decisions made in the ordinary law courts, except where appeals to those courts from decisions of tribunals or of Ministers were in question. The scope of its study was confined by its terms of reference to decisions enforced by special tribunals (including those few, *e.g.*, the Rent Tribunals, which determine disputes not between the individual and authority but between citizen and citizen), or, after public enquiry or hearing, by Ministers of the Crown.

## **(B) Recommendations and Findings**

The Report of the Committee was presented to the Parliament in July 1957; and its main findings and recommendations are summarised below:—

### **(I) *The Basic Recommendations***

(1) Tribunals today vary widely in constitution, functions and procedure. Reflection on the general social and economic changes of recent decades convinces the Committee that tribunals as a system for adjudication have come to stay. The tendency for issues arising from legislative schemes to be referred to special tribunals is likely to grow rather than to diminish.

(2) It is of the first importance that tribunals should be regarded as 'machinery provided by Parliament for adjudication', and not as appendages of Government Departments. 'The intention of Parliament to provide for the independence of tribunals is clear and unmistakable'. The administration should not use these methods of adjudication as convenient alternatives to the courts of law. In deciding by whom adjudications involving the administration and the individual citizen should be carried out preference should, as a matter of principle, be given to the ordinary courts of law rather than to a tribunal unless there are demonstrably special reasons which make a tribunal more appropriate, namely, the need for cheapness, accessibility, freedom from technicality, expedition and expert knowledge of a particular subject.

(3) The Committee draws distinction between a tribunal, the members of which 'are neutral and impartial in relation to the policy of the Minister, except in so far as the policy is contained in the rules which the tribunal has been set up to apply', and a Minister, who is 'committed to a policy which he has been charged by Parliament to carry out.....and in this sense is not and cannot be impartial'. The Committee, therefore, recommends that preference should be given to a tribunal rather than to a Minister, and this requires that every effort should be made to express policy in the form of regulations capable of being administered by an independent tribunal. This may not always be possible and that in these cases the adjudication must be made by a Minister.

(4) Where, in the light of the above considerations, it is justifiable to establish a tribunal or to entrust adjudicating functions to a Minister, the ultimate control in regard to matters of law should be exercised by the traditional courts.

(5) Parliament in deciding that certain decisions should be reached only after a special procedure must have intended that they should manifest three basic characteristics: openness, fairness and impartiality. The choice of a tribunal rather than a Minister as the deciding authority is itself a considerable step towards the realisation of these objectives, particularly the third.

(6) In the field of tribunals openness appears to require the publicity of proceedings and knowledge of the essential reasoning underlying the decisions; fairness to require the adoption of a clear procedure which enables parties to know their rights, to present their case fully and to know the case which they have to meet; and impartiality to require the freedom of tribunals from the influence, real or apparent, of Departments concerned with the subject-matter of their decisions.

(7) For above reasons, as well as because of the problems of functions, procedure and constitution to which the great variety of the tribunals gives rise, the Committee recommends that two Standing Councils on Tribunals (one for England and Wales and one for Scotland) should be set up to keep the constitution and working of tribunals under continuous review. The Council for England and Wales should be appointed by and report to the Lord Chancellor, who should be responsible for the statutory action to give effect to its recommendations. The Secretary of State for Scotland should stand in the same relationship to the Scottish Council. The main function of the two Councils should be to suggest how the general principles of constitution, organisation and procedure enunciated in the Report should be applied in detail to the various tribunals. In discharging this function they should first decide the application of these principles to all existing tribunals; thereafter they should keep tribunals under review and advise on the constitution, organisation and procedure of any proposed new type of tribunal. Any proposal to establish a new tribunal should be referred to the Councils for their advice before steps are taken to establish the tribunal. The Councils should have power to take evidence from witnesses both inside and outside the public service, and their reports should be published. All their functions should be statutory. The Councils should comprise of nine or ten, both lay and legally qualified, members with a lay majority. The chairmen should be persons who have attained distinction in public life, but they need be lawyers. Some members of the Councils should have experience of agriculture and industry. It is also desirable that the experience of voluntary organisations in the social service field and that of senior retired members of the public service should be available to the Councils. It would be valuable if a place were found amongst the legal members for an academic authority on administrative law or administration.

(8) The Committee is not satisfied that a sufficient case has been made out for the establishment of a separate administrative court to hear appeals from tribunals or ministerial adjudications. A general appeal tribunal would be a comparatively inexperienced body and would involve a departure from the principle whereby all adjudicating bodies in the country, whether designated as inferior courts or as tribunals, are in matters of jurisdiction subject to the unifying control of the superior courts. It would further dichotomize the present unitary system of law. The Committee also does not support the proposals for the creation of an administrative division of the High Court on the ground that appeals would then lie from expert

tribunals to an inexperienced general appellate body. It recommends that, in general, the appropriate appeal structure is a general appeal from a tribunal of first instance to an appellate tribunal, followed by an appeal to the courts on points of law.

## *(II) Constitution of Tribunals*

(1) In order to ensure the independence of the personnel of tribunals from the Departments concerned with the subject-matter of their decisions, the Committee recommends that all chairmen of tribunals should be appointed by the Lord Chancellor (or alternatively, in Scotland by Lord President of the Court of Session or the Lord Advocate), who should also be responsible for the removal of chairmen and members. Where tribunal appointments are at present made by the Crown, it is proposed that formal submission in respect of them be made by the Lord Chancellor.

(2) The Committee attaches great importance to the quality of the chairmen of tribunals, and considers that objectivity of treatment and the proper sifting of facts are most often secured by having a legally qualified chairman, although it recognises that suitable chairmen can be drawn from fields other than the law. It recommends, therefore, that all chairmen exercising appellate functions should have legal qualifications, and that chairmen of tribunals of the first instance should ordinarily have legal qualifications, although persons without such qualifications should not be passed over automatically, if they are particularly suitable.

(3) The Committee rejects the idea that, in general, tribunal service should become whole-time or salaried, since it believes that 'public-spirited individuals will continue to serve without remuneration on many tribunals'. On the other hand, it considers that there are certain important positions which should be salaried, and in such cases the scale of remuneration should be adequate to attract the right people. It also recommends that the present arrangements for providing clerks of tribunals should continue. The duties of a clerk should be confined to secretarial work, the taking of notes of evidence, and advice on the tribunal's functions. Unless sent for to advise he should be debarred from retiring with the tribunal.

## *(III) Tribunal Procedures*

(1) The Committee does not recommend uniformity of procedure at tribunals because of the great variety of purpose for which they are established. There is a case for greater procedural differentiation. The detailed procedure for each tribunal should be designed to meet its particular circumstances, and should be formulated by the appropriate Council on Tribunals on the principles of 'openness, fairness, and impartiality'. In general, the aim should be to combine orderly procedure with informality. The attempt which has so far been made to secure informality in the general run of tribunals has in some instances been at the expense of an orderly procedure. Informality without rules of procedure may be positively inimical to right adjudication, since the proceedings may well assume an unordered character which makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the tribunal properly to sift the facts and weigh the evidence.

(2) It is of the greatest importance, first, that a citizen should be aware of his right to apply to a tribunal, and second, that he should fully

understand the nature of the case in which he is involved. To this end, the Committee recommends that anyone appearing at a tribunal should receive 'in good time beforehand' a document setting out the main points of the opposing case. The Committee also recommends that all hearings before tribunals should be held in public, except where considerations of public security or of professional capacity or reputation are involved or when intimate personal or financial details might have to be disclosed. To assist those who would otherwise be unable to pay for legal assistance, the official scheme of legal aid should be extended immediately to tribunals which are formal and expensive and to final appellate tribunals; and to other tribunals when the scheme is extended to cover a wider range of proceedings than at present in ordinary courts of law.

(3) Further safeguards suggested by the Committee are: the extension to witnesses before tribunals of the same protection against damages in respect of anything they may say in evidence as is already enjoyed by witnesses in a court of law; the granting of powers to tribunals to administer the oath and subpoena witnesses at their discretion; the removal of the restriction (where it exists) on the right of the parties to a dispute to question their own or their opponents' witnesses directly, and not only through the chairman.

(4) The right to legal representation before tribunals should be curtailed only in the most exceptional circumstances, where it is clear that the interests of applicants generally would be better served by a restriction. Government Departments should not be permitted legal representation before a tribunal unless the citizen for his part employs a lawyer.

(5) The Committee holds the view that decisions of tribunals should be reasoned and as full as possible. 'If the tribunal proceedings are to be fair to the citizen, reasons (for decisions) should be given to the fullest practicable extent'. As soon as possible after the hearing, the tribunal should send a written notice of decision to both parties to the dispute, which should include not only the decision itself, but also a statement of the findings of fact by the tribunal, the reasons for the decision, and the rights of appeal against the decision. Final appellate tribunals should publish selected decisions and circulate them to lower tribunals.

(6) As a matter of general principle, the Committee recommends, appeals should not lie to the Minister concerned. Except where a tribunal of the first instance is exceptionally well-qualified, there should always be an appeal to an appellate tribunal on fact, law and merits; and that an appeal on a point of law should lie to the courts from all tribunal decisions, except from decisions of the National Insurance Commissioner, the Industrial Injuries Commissioner and the National Assistance Appeal Tribunals. No statute should contain words purporting to oust the remedies by way of *certiorari*, prohibition and *mandamus*.

(7) Present arrangements for the award of costs and payment of expenses of parties should be reviewed by the Council on Tribunals. The general principles should be that: (i) a successful applicant should be given a reasonable allowance in respect of his expenses, including in some cases an allowance for the cost of legal representation; (ii) an unsuccessful applicant should never have to pay any costs but before the 'social-service' and most other tribunals should be entitled to the same reasonable allowance as the successful applicant. In disputes between private parties, however, the

parties should bear their own expenses and costs, except at the appellate level or where a party has acted frivolously or vexatiously, when the tribunal should have power to order the unsuccessful party to pay a sum towards the other's costs and expenses.

#### (IV) *Administrative Procedures involving an Enquiry or Hearing*

(The procedures studied under this heading, by the Committee relate mainly to land, since these are, in fact, the most important and the most frequently used. It states, however, that the conclusions reached in relation to 'land procedures' should be applied to other procedures falling within the second part of its terms of reference.

In general, administrative enquiries are held before a ministerial decision is finally taken to allow objections to a proposed policy to be heard, or after an objection has been lodged against a decision made by a local or other authority or by a Government Department. The enquiries are held either by departmental inspectors, as in the case of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, or by independent inspectors appointed by the Department concerned. The enquiries may be held either in public or in private; and the findings of the presiding inspectors, as a rule, embodied in a confidential report.)

(1) The Committee recommends that, before an administrative enquiry, the deciding Minister should make available a statement of the policy relevant to the particular case (but should be free to direct that the statement be partly or wholly excluded from discussion at the enquiry), and that the authority responsible for the decision to which objections are being raised should make available, in good time before the enquiry, a written statement giving full particulars of its case. The object in making the recommendation is to give the individual an opportunity at the enquiry of directing his arguments not only to the case of his immediate opponents but also to the other considerations which are likely to weigh with the deciding Minister.

(2) The main body of inspectors in England and Wales should be placed under the control of the Lord Chancellor, in order that the inspector conducting an enquiry should be independent of the Minister making the final decision; but the inspectors may be kept in contact with policy developments in the Departments responsible for enquiries. The preference of certain Departments for independent inspectors appointed *ad hoc* need not be disturbed. If a corps of inspectors is established for Scotland (at present, lawyers are usually appointed by the Scottish Departments to conduct enquiries) the Lord Advocate should assume responsibility for it. Lord Silkin, a member of the Committee, however, has recorded a note of dissent to the effect that the corps of departmental inspectors should be appointed and retained under the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, as at present.

(3) A code or codes for procedures at enquiries should be formulated by the Councils on Tribunals and made statutory. The main object should be to keep the procedure reasonably simple and inexpensive but with sufficient orderliness in the proceedings to ensure that the enquiry plays its proper part in the total process.

(4) The proceedings should generally be opened by the initiating authority (whether a Minister or local or other authority), which should be prepared to explain its proposals fully and support them by oral evidence. The presiding inspector should have power to administer the oath and subpoena witnesses. He should have a wide discretion in controlling the proceedings and should give rulings on the scope of the proposed ministerial policy statements.

(5) Officials of the Departments of the deciding Minister should be required to give evidence if the enquiry is unto a proposal initiated by that Minister. Officials of other Departments should, if required, give factual evidence in support of the views of their Departments if these views are referred to by a public authority in its explanatory written statement or in its evidence at the enquiry.

(6) The report of the inspector after the enquiry should contain (i) a summary of evidence, findings of fact and inferences of fact; and (ii) reasoning from facts, including application of policy, and (normally) recommendations. The Committee feels that the right course is to publish the inspectors' reports; for publicity is in itself an effective check against arbitrary action. Complete publicity at all stages is impossible but it should be insisted upon wherever possible. Accordingly the complete text of the inspector's report should accompany the Minister's letter of decision, and should be available on request both centrally and locally. Additionally, if any of the following parties desires an opportunity to propose corrections of fact, the first part of the report should, as soon as possible after the enquiry, be sent to: (i) the promoting authority (or local planning authority) and any other authority which gave evidence; and (ii) all persons who lodged written objections (in planning appeals, the applicants). Recipients should be allowed 14 days in which to propose corrections. The inspector should decide whether to accept any proposed correction.

Lord Silkin, however, in his note of dissent, observes that the reports of inspectors should remain confidential and should not be published.

(7) The Committee recommends that any factual evidence having a bearing upon the dispute which the Minister may obtain after the enquiry should be submitted to both parties for their observation before the final decision is taken. The final letter of decision should set out in full the Minister's findings and the reasons for the decision.

#### (V) *Particular Tribunals*

(1) The particular classes of tribunals studied by the Committee are those relating to:

- (a) *land and property*, e.g., County Agricultural Executive Committees, the Agricultural Land Tribunal, Local Valuation Courts, the Lands Tribunal and Rent Tribunals;
- (b) *national insurance, national assistance and family allowances*, e.g., National Insurance Local Tribunals, Industrial Injuries Local Tribunals, the National Insurance Commissioner, the Industrial Injuries Commissioner, National Assistance Appeal Tribunals and Family Allowance Referees;

- (c) *the national health service, e.g.,* the Service Committees of the Executive Councils and the National Health Service Tribunal;
- (d) *military service, e.g.,* Military Service (Hardship) Committees, Reinstatement Committees, the Umpire, Conscientious Objectors Local and Appellate Tribunals, and Pension Appeal Tribunals; and
- (e) *transport, e.g.,* Licensing Authorities for Public Service Vehicles and Goods Vehicles, and the Transport Tribunal.

(2) All the above tribunals and certain miscellaneous tribunals (the General and Special Commissioners of Income Tax, Compensation Appeal Tribunals and Independent Schools Tribunals) examined by the Committee are (i) statutory, and (ii) either appointed by Minister of the Crown or appointed for the purpose of a Minister's functions. The Committee has not concerned itself with the domestic disciplinary bodies for solicitors and medical practitioners (the British Medical Council and the Law Society), since these, although statutory, are not appointed by a Minister or for the purpose of a Minister's function. Other tribunals excluded from consideration were : disciplinary committees under the Agricultural Marketing Acts, constituted by the agricultural marketing boards themselves for the purposes of assisting in the operation of the schemes; tribunals which do not make decisions, *e.g.,* the Monopolies Commission; tribunals which enquire into transport accidents; and tribunals in the industrial field.

(3) The general recommendations of the Committee as set out in the White Paper apply to all classes of tribunals studied. The Committee has also made specific recommendations for each particular class of tribunals.

(4) The Committee considers that there is not much scope at present for amalgamation of tribunals. It recommends that whenever it is proposed to establish a new tribunal consideration should first be given to the possibility of vesting the jurisdiction in an existing tribunal.

**PLANNING COMMISSION. PROGRAMME EVALUATION ORGANISATION.** *Evaluation Report on the Working of Community Projects and N.E.S. Blocks, Vol. I and II, April 1957. iv. and 91 p.*

## **I. Introduction**

(1) This is the fourth report of the Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission on the working of C.P. and N.E.S. blocks for the year 1956. The Report is divided into two volumes and each volume into two parts. Part I of Volume I contains a general assessment of the Community Development programme, review of the problems it raises and some suggestions for dealing with the same. Part II includes a more detailed statement of some aspects of the Community Development programme and also a chapter on the results of the coverage enquiry. Volume II gives, in its first part, a fuller account of the results of the coverage study with supporting statistical tables; and in its second part, a selected number of reports by evaluation officers on social and economic changes in their respective areas.

(2) The year 1956 saw the completion of the first series of the Community Projects started in 1952-53 and their transformation into what are called 'post-intensive' blocks. After a period of intensive development of 3½

to 4 years, these areas are being normalised and placed on the P.I.P. (*i.e.* post-intensive phase) pattern, which is expected to continue indefinitely in the future. The report takes stock of the position at this stage, and attempts an assessment of achievement, both in physical terms and in terms of behaviours and attitudes, of these completed community projects.

This assessment has been based not so much on the general evaluation reports furnished by the P.E.O.s, but more specifically on two special studies initiated for the purpose by the Organisation. The first of these studies, involving a quick survey of a large sample of villages (15 to 20 per cent) in the project areas, was designed to observe the physical accomplishments of the programme in these villages and to determine their current status. The second study was based on a much smaller number of villages (3 in each project area) but involved intensive and qualitative observations designed to throw light on some aspects of the social and economic change resulting from the implementation of the C.D. programme. In addition, use has also been made of special reports prepared by P.E.O.s on specific aspects of the programme as co-operative societies, cottage industries, social education, and loans programmes.

It may be mentioned here that the present three-tier-pattern does not apply to the original community development blocks; in their case it is only a two-tier pattern, viz., first the C.D. block, and then the P.I.P. block. It is only in the case of the others that the three-tier-pattern applies, viz. first the N.E.S. block, second the Community Development block, and third the post-intensive phase. The staffing pattern in regard to all these three is more or less the same, especially in regard to V.L.W.s and the general block level staff, some difference being found in the subject-matter-specialist staff. The major difference lies in their budgets, especially the provision that is made for construction and irrigation works, grants for social activities, and provision for loans. The C.D. Pattern with a budget of Rs. 12 lakhs for 3 years is best off in this respect, the N.E.S. pattern with Rs. 4 lakhs for 3 years is less well off, and the P.I.P. pattern with a budget of only a little more over Rs. 2 lakhs, and no provision for loans, is the worst off.

## **II. General Assessment and Review of the Achievements of Community Projects**

- (i) In terms of programme, the Coverage Enquiry related to 41 items, dealing with different aspects of rural social and economic activity. Almost all villages have been covered by one or more items in the programme. An analysis of the figures by individual items in the programme shows a considerable degree of variation in achievement.
- (ii) The most successful item in terms of coverage is that of improved agricultural practices, no less than 95 per cent of the sample villages having been covered by one or other of the items of improved agricultural practices (with sample villages in 11 project areas having a coverage of 100 per cent).
- (iii) Items involving change in organisational attitudes in the economic field, such as better understanding of the objectives and obligations of co-operation and readiness to make use of co-operative societies for purposes other than credit, are comparatively unsuccessful. The objective of mobilising public participation

and positive public support has been comparatively successful in the case of constructional programmes, but not in the case of institutional programmes.

- (iv) Items involving change in organisational attitudes in the political field, *e.g.*, better understanding of the objectives and responsibilities of panchayat membership and readiness to use panchayats for planning and executing village development programmes, are comparatively unsuccessful.
- (v) While there has been considerable increase in rural consciousness of economic, and to a smaller extent, of social needs, the objective of stimulating continuing and positive effort based on self-help for promoting economic or social development has been comparatively unsuccessful and there is still too much dependence on government initiative and assistance.
- (vi) While a feeling has grown that the government is there not merely to rule but also to help in developing, there has not developed an equally strong sentiment of self-reliance and initiative, whether individual or co-operative. Unless, therefore, the government deploys more resources in rural areas, and the people, in turn, show greater initiative and self-help, a situation is developing which is bound to create serious difficulties in rural India.
- (vii) There is wide disparity in the distribution of the achievement and therefore also of the benefits of community development programmes between different blocks in the project areas; within the blocks, between the headquarter villages of Grama Sevaks, the villages easily accessible to them, and the village not so easily accessible; within the villages, between the cultivators and the non-cultivators; and within the cultivating classes, between the cultivators of bigger holdings and larger financial resources and those of smaller holdings and lesser financial resources. This is a matter of serious concern not only in term of regional and social justice but also in terms of the political consequences that may ensue in the context of the increasing awakening among the people.

### III. Transition to the Post-Intensive Phase (P.I.P.)

- (i) The fourth year, of the Community Projects of 1952-53 series *i.e.*, the period between April 1955 to September 1956, saw an intensification of activity in regard to expenditure. The expenditure during these 18 months was practically the same as that in the preceding 30 months. This spurt in expenditure was directed towards exhausting—before the end of the project period—the balances which had accumulated during the third year due to the initial difficulties of making a start. A large number of works were, therefore, sanctioned and either got completed or remained under construction by the end of the project-period. The year immediately preceding the transformation into the P.I.P. (with a much smaller budget) thus proved to be a period when construction dominated the thinking and activity of the project staff, including the Grama Sevaks, and the extension failed to emerge from the backseat to which it had been relegated even earlier.

- (ii) The transition to the P.I.P. was sharp and sudden. Under the new staff pattern the Project Officer disappeared and the A.P.O.s were replaced by B.D.O.s and additional B.D.O.s were appointed in cases where the project area was divided into more than three blocks. The high-powered technical staff formerly attached to the project either disappeared or reverted to their parent departments, the blocks now being expected to get technical guidance from their counterparts at the district level. The number of Grama Sevaks was halved and their individual charges doubled. The amount placed at the disposal of the block staff was also reduced considerably and there was little provision for loans. The block staff, most of whom had functioned with large funds under the old projects, now found themselves filled with a sense of frustration and many of them did not quite know how to spend their time. Inactivity, or what largely appeared to be so, succeeded the intensive activity of the last days of the project period, and it sharply focussed attention on what the P.E.O. reports had always been laying stress, viz., the role of the extension in C.D. and NES work.

#### **IV. Problems of the Post-Intensive Phase**

##### *(a) General Problems*

- (i) The non-availability of medium term loan funds in the post-intensive phase operates to the disadvantage of the P.I.P. blocks. In many of the community projects, these loan facilities were availed of by the cultivators for works of agricultural improvement, and they had become accustomed to this facility. There is now a very real and substantial fall in the volume of funds at the disposal of the block staff for direct administration on development purposes in their areas. If, therefore, there is not to be an abrupt set-back to development effort in these areas, it is necessary to make some provision for medium term loans in the P.I.P. budget.
- (ii) The transition from the community project to the P.I.P. pattern has created a number of important problems of maintenance of facilities and satisfaction of demands. These need to be taken care of urgently if we are to activate both the project staff and the population of the project blocks which are now passing into the 'post-intensive' phase. Only then can economic and social development of a self-sustaining character be made possible for these areas.
- (iii) In most projects, arrangements in case of facilities like hospitals, which are to be maintained by the State departments or district local boards, have been finalised. But in several cases, all the problems connected with the change have not yet been resolved. The problem of maintenance, especially of village facilities, is a factor that should be borne in mind at the very outset of the programme. What is most essential for securing this is the association of the organised or collective will of the community with the planning of the programmes and also, to the extent possible, with the actual implementation of the

same. But this is for the future. The current problem is that of maintenance of village facilities in the transitional period. The project staff should have some responsibility in this matter and it is also necessary that a small financial provision is made for the purpose in the schematic budget of the post-intensive blocks.

- (iv) Then there is the problem of satisfying the demands created by the very facilities that were provided for the people during the project period. A special attention should be paid to the removal of the wide disparity that exists between the head-quarter village of Grama Sevaks and other villages in the project areas. All this requires some rethinking of programmes for the post-intensive phase and a relaxation of the rule requiring a greater measure of public contribution for the implementation of construction works.
- (v) It is also important to take due note of the special requirements of the P.I.P. blocks in the distribution of the large volume of non-project expenditure on rural development provided under the Second Five Year Plan. The national extension service staff should be used as an important agency for the planning and implementing of such non-project expenditure.

*(b) The Role of the Grama Sevak*

- (i) Hitherto the project staff had at their disposal ample funds for both construction and irrigational work and the Grama Sevak was able not only to disburse funds for satisfying the felt needs of the people but also secure for them the supplies and credit without which they would not have been able to effect any improvement in their material conditions. It is this activity of his—and one that did not really fit in with the strictly orthodox view of the Grama Sevak's role—that broke down the barrier between Government and the people. Any abrupt termination of this part of the Grama Sevak's activities would not be desirable even in the interests of his efficient functioning as an extension worker.
- (ii) It is vitally important that the transition in the role of the Grama Sevak from the C.D. to the P.I.P. pattern should take place by gradual stages and alongside the filling up of the economic and physical gaps in the country side. The implications of this proposition should be considered in all its bearings before undertaking a wholesale programme of conversion of C.D. into P.I.P. blocks and adhering to the present pattern of the P.I.P. both in terms of its functions and its budget provisions.
- (iii) If the objective set down by the Planning Commission, viz., that the Grama Sevak should establish contact with every individual family in his area and help to plan its production programme, is to be fulfilled, there must be a substantial reduction in the area and population allotted to him for this purpose.

*(c) Staffing Arrangements*

- (i) The primary function of the administrative head of the district should be recognized as development and he should be given special assistants for dealing with law and order and revenue functions rather than the other way about.
- (ii) A necessary requisite to the effectiveness of extension work in India is the expansion and strengthening of the institutions dealing with supplies and credit, accompanied by a strengthening and expansion of government agencies which supply research, technical, and social services. A Grama Sevak, for instance, can be far more effective as an extension worker if he can turn to a well-equipped and well-staffed hospital or agricultural research station at the block or district levels for guidance and supplies, than if he has to depend upon his block and district level technical officers who, in turn, have to depend upon still more distant sources.
- (iii) In spite of the fact that the movement has now been in existence for more than four years, there is not sufficient understanding of the objectives and techniques of community development programme among the specialist-staff. The problem of training of block staff and orientation of the specialist-staff, should therefore be reviewed, and the technical staff and research facilities, both at the State and district levels, should be reinforced.

*(d) Co-ordination*

- (i) The problem of co-ordination of the horizontal responsibilities of the area-specialist with the vertical responsibilities of the subject-specialist still continues to defy solution. Co-ordination at the block level is now becoming more a by-product of co-ordination at the district level, with the District Collector, directly or assisted by a District Development Officer, exercising more co-ordination over the technical heads of development departments in the district and more control over the development work of the project-staff. The district officer is thus tending to become the king-pin of the development programme and the general administration is beginning to wear the new look associated with the Welfare State that India is now becoming.
- (ii) A basic principle which should be clearly recognised by all concerned is that the Community Project Officers and Block Industrial Officers are primarily a part of the extension movement, that they are subject-specialists, and that they are to be properly linked with the District Officer and the B.D.O. who are the area-specialists for rural development.
- (iii) All the administrative implications of this transformation in relationship have, however, not been realised either at the district level or at the State level. The whole problem of administrative co-ordination and orientation needs rethinking, now that development is the major activity of government and

(iv) Orientation in the objectives and techniques of community development should be provided to officers at the highest level, both the generalists and the specialists, who are dealing with development. Unless the whole administrative machinery of government gets permeated with the philosophy of community development, problems of *co-ordination* will continue to hamper the programme in spite of any changes that may be made in the administrative set-up for dealing with this problem.

1. Advance on the rural front cannot be made merely by the institution of an extension agency; it needs to be supplemented by adequate effort on the side of skills, supplies and credit. If this view is accepted it follows that there should be some review of the content of the programmes of both the N.E.S. and the P.I.P. blocks, more especially the latter. This review should be in the direction of making more provision for works and some provision for loan finance in the programme. More important than this is the need for integrating project expenditure with the non-project expenditure on rural development.

3. As regards techniques, far more emphasis should be placed on preparing the people in each N.E.S. block for the planning and operation of development programmes; and in the case of the conversion from the C.D. into P.I.P. blocks, on preparing the project staff for the change in their role and resources. This means a more deliberate and greater use of the panchayat and the co-operatives than in the past. Greater attention will have to be paid to 'community and group organisation' in the training of Grama Sevaks and more orientation given to the superior development staff at district and state levels in the philosophy of community development.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

**SERVICE AND PROCEDURE IN BUREAUCRACY :** By ROY G. FRANCIS and ROBERT C. STONE. *Minneapolis, the University of Minnesota Press, 1956. vi, 201p. \$4.00.*

It is commonly believed that organized services tend to care for conformity to rules more than for satisfactory service, and that they tend to ignore personal relationships among those who administer the service, as well as between them on the one hand and their clients on the other. These traits are said to be inherent in all organizations operating by prescribed procedures and through paid cadres. They are expected to be prevalent in an almost undiluted form in all governmental departments. Two researchers at Minnesota University have now attempted, by means of a case study, to find out the extent and the manner in which these two traits—conformity to procedure and impersonality of relationships—actually operate.

The particular organization selected for study was the Louisiana Division of Employment Security, which has the twin functions of disbursing unemployment assistance and of finding employment. The researchers, in their search for the actual reality of the administrative situation, observed employees working at their jobs, conducted interviews, administered questionnaires, and studied the official documents and records of the organization. The theme and the methodology of survey are fully described and a number of useful appendices supply to the serious student quite a fare of interesting sidelights on techniques and findings. As a pattern of careful case work this publication deserves serious study, especially in India, where efforts are now being made to prepare material for training in problems of administration.

In an attempt to reassess the concept of bureaucracy the researchers arrive at a statement which at first glance may appear to be without much significance. They describe their finding on the issue of procedure versus service, and of impersonal versus personal relationships, as 'an emphasis on service coupled with an emphasis on procedure', and 'impersonality coupled with personal relations'. But no one has ever suggested that the most hardboiled bureaucrat would in all cases ignore either the service which is the purpose of his existence, or the personal aspects of his relationship with other human beings. A finding, which merely states that both co-exist in a bureaucracy is really, by itself, not very enlightening. In fact, as was obvious from the start, any "ideal" concept of bureaucracy as completely devoid of service and human elements is a "straw man" set up for the easy exercise of being demolished by the not very unexpected finding that there is no such thing as pure bureaucracy, that to varying degrees service goals and personal relationships enter into all organizations. To set up an ideal type which is too exaggerated to be true and then to discover it to be 'frictional' is in itself of little scientific value. But the process of creating a hypothesis and then testing it for verification indicates the limits within which the original thesis may be held to be valid.

The study of the operations of the Employment Security Division of Louisiana revealed that the interviewers, who were the bottom officers

to come into contact with the clients, had a "work ethic"; they filled the forms and at the same time heard the clients' story as a whole; if they concluded that the clients were entitled to a service, they tended to interpret procedures suitably. In other words, the finding is that procedures are demonstrably suited to service at least at the lowest official level, and as personal a view of a client's situation as is consistent with public policy is taken. In the opinion of these lower officers themselves, there was greater rigidity being enforced in regard to operations within the department, *e.g.*, maintenance of forms, etc.

This experience suggests two important factors which go to determine the answer to the problem, and which the researchers legitimately take into consideration. One is the nature of contact; and the other, the character of service. For instance, a public service which helps the farmer in his programmes of soil conservation is likely to be even less impersonal and less rigid than the Employment Division. In a rural setting organizing a programme which is of joint concern to all, including the nation as a whole, a feeling of active partnership may grow between the administrative agency and the individual farmers. Here the procedural element would be reduced to a minimum and service element may be maximised. But even in an armed service like the Navy, it has been found that considerable store is laid by personal relations without violating essential procedural requirements.

All the same it is clear that a useful distinction may be drawn among public services and other organizations on one basis. Centralisation of authority, standardization of procedure and dealing in terms of offices than of men are characteristic of a bureaucracy. Concentration on high technical skills, decentralisation of decision-making and recognition of each individual as a significant unit are characteristics of a professional organisation. No organisation is fully bureaucratic or non-bureaucratic. If, however, it is intended that the undesirable traits of bureaucracy should be minimised, jobs in the service have to be made as skilled as possible, responsibility of decision-making has to be decentralised to the greatest extent, and the individuality of each officer has to be recognized. Progress of administrative reform must be towards making service organizations less and less bureaucratic and more and more professional.

Apart from the right approach, such a development would to a large extent depend on the functions which the organization is called upon to perform. For instance, here in India, so long as the functions to be performed were mainly maintenance of peace and order and collection of taxes, a pattern of organisation more exclusively bureaucratic than most others was evolved. Latterly as both these functions are falling into their proper perspective by the side of developmental and welfare functions, the administrative organizations are taking on a more obviously professional look. This is happening by the creation of new administrative services which are less bureaucratic and by making the bureaucratic services themselves more and more professional. In this process of transition lessons of a study like the present are most valuable. The greatest possible store deserves to be laid by high individual skills, by decentralising decisions and by building up colleague-relations within the service, and a "work ethic" as regards relations with the public.

**PARLIAMENT IN INDIA;** *By W. H. MORRIS-JONES. London, New York, Toronto, Longmans, Green & Co. 1957. xii, 417p. Rs. 25.*

Morris-Jones, Professor of Political Theory and Institutions at the University of Durham is no stranger to India. As a teacher and Research Scholar, his experience as a constitutional adviser on Lord Mountbatten's staff during the transfer of power in 1947 would have equipped him to write about our Constitution and Parliament with more than ordinary academic exposition. For writing this book, however, he came out to India again in 1953-54. The result is an account of the first Parliament of independent India and selected portions of the Constitution, of special relevance to its working, which is at once more lifelike and systematic and more comprehensive in its coverage than any other produced hitherto.

Professor Morris-Jones has executed his task with uncommon skill. He is in no hurry to take the reader to Parliament House to explain to him the working of Parliament, before preparing for him, very ably, an environmental setting towards an understanding of some of the striking and puzzling paradoxes of Indian polity and the forces shaping it. This should be particularly valuable for readers who are either not familiar with Indian conditions or find them too diverse and bewildering. Such readers are enabled to recognize the reality of a firm and profound core of unity in the emergence of a powerfully unified federal Constitution, the continuity of an effective national administrative service and of political experience with its emphasis on national unity embodied in the principal political party which has remained in undisputed power since independence at the Centre and in most States. The author is, however, in no mood to take for granted the victory of the forces of unity over those of diversity operating in the shape of strong regional and linguistic loyalties, dangerous 'icebergs' of caste and community threatening national consciousness and sharp distinctions between the rural and urban classes, the rich and poor, educated and illiterate, the sophisticated westernised Indians and others, master and servant, and so on. Wisely he does not venture to prophesy the outcome in the long period of the struggle between the two forces. Indian readers will doubtless be impressed by the author's deep insight into an objective understanding of some of India's fundamental problems. While some of them may not fully agree with him that in the matter of the reorganisation of states, "the Government has been quite unable to resist pressures of regional sentiment," many will share with him his sense of wonder that coherent national policies have been able to emerge.

This local setting is further enriched by a commendable historical perspective with which the author traces the various stages of constitutional and political development in India from about the middle of the 19th century, their significance and the quality of the attitudes which the wise and the vocal among the British and the Indians had to the future destiny of India from time to time, to establish the thesis that parliamentary institutions are not wholly alien to India and that the Parliament of 1952 was the latest of a long line and grounded in modern Indian experience.

The only weakness of this part lies in that it has attempted to cover too much in too little space. For example, on the question of the relations between the Congress and other political parties, the writer has dealt with an important and controversial aspect of pre-independence politics in a rather summary fashion. To a reader not well acquainted with the

conflict of principles involved in such relations, the selection of contemporary opinion on the subject brought together is liable to yield misleading conclusions.

But this is a minor flaw in an otherwise admirable narrative which preserves its vigour of judgment and sharpness of observation in dealing with the actual working of Parliament. In its attention to detail chapters III to VII with their 23 tables and 3 of the 5 appendices qualify the book even as a work of reference. It is, however, not a guide to parliamentary procedure. The major part of the treatise naturally deals with Lok Sabha (House of the People). The author finds Rajya Sabha (Council of States) to be a replica of the lower house, without an adequate and distinct role of its own. Beyond frequent references to certain state assemblies, the scope of the book excludes also an examination of parliamentary institutions at the state level. Even so, this is a book which should be read more than once by all members of Parliament and state legislatures. With its extensive footnotes and documentation, it is by no means light reading in many parts but it is nevertheless refreshing for its originality of approach and stimulating for its scholarship. In the sections on Behaviour and Attitudes, Privilege, Relations between the two Houses, Financial Committees and appendix II, some members of the present Parliament will be able to recognise themselves. Legislators in general may even be persuaded to accept with grace the plea that the education of the new masters of India is a national problem.

From his painstaking research Professor Morris-Jones reaches the conclusion that the evidence on the working of the first Parliament brought together by him justifies and supports the confident language of the *Manchester Guardian* of the 5th June 1954 (quoted by himself) that : "All that is happening in Asia throws a spotlight on the Parliament in Delhi as the one institution of the kind which is working in an exemplary way.....Pericles said that Athens was the school of Hellas. Mr. Nehru without boasting may say that Delhi is the School of Asia." This verdict will certainly gladden the hearts of those interested in the success of democracy in India, for the story told by him is, in his own words "unmistakably a story of success". The least that the most cautious Indian might say to this is 'touch wood'. A Cassandra like reader may, however, demand a different kind of evidence—perhaps trial of war, revolution or at least one change of party in power—to establish that the existence of Parliament in India guarantees its continuance. He may even join issue with the learned Professor that having actually referred to this point (p.316) he has based his judgment of the future more on faith than logic. But it must be said to the credit of the author that despite his being English, he has neither exaggerated failures which a critic of Indian independence may be tempted to do, nor unduly emphasised the good points out of friendliness. He has maintained a commendable balance in keeping with the traditions of his profession. Should he read this review he will find in it the reaction of at least one Indian reader to the note with which he has closed his narrative.

—N. K. Bhojwani

**THE PATTERN OF MANAGEMENT;** By **LYNDALL F. URWICK.**  
London, Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., 1956, vii, 100p. 20/-.

Since 1878, when Frederick Winslow Taylor abandoned custom and tradition in dealing with problems of social adaptability to an economy

based on power-driven machinery and introduced scientific tools of definition, analysis, measurement, experiment and proof, 'a new body of knowledge has emerged from the superstitions and the folklore of earlier ages to take its place in the social heritage'. This new knowledge, usually described as 'Management Science' or 'Scientific Management' is concerned with 'leadership, co-ordination and long-range objectives' of human activity in society and goes far beyond inefficiencies in the use of materials and manpower in production processes. The increasing scale and complexity of central and state, and even of local, governments, give rise to administrative problems which call for the same principles and techniques as are sought by major business organisations. Leadership in government is a process comparable with business management.

In the long succession of thinkers—engineers, sociologists, psychologists, economists and many others—who have contributed to the philosophy of Management, Lyndall F. Urwick occupies an important place. He has focussed attention on the vital aspect of Management, viz. Motivating and Energizing the group as a group, and has given concreteness to the concepts of 'communication' 'morale', 'leadership' and 'participation'. It is this that has made Management not merely an engineering approach but an art that deals primarily with human beings—men and women, each of whom is "the centre of a process of living".

In a series of five lectures on the Pattern of Management delivered by Col. Urwick under the auspices of the Merrill Foundation for the Advancement of Financial Knowledge, at the School of Business Administration, University of Minnesota, and published in the form of the book under review, we find a new presentation of Management knowledge, dividing the whole field into four parts, viz : (a) the study of the task; (b) adjusting the individual to the task; (c) arranging and correlating the tasks; and (d) motivating and integrating groups. He visualizes these four aspects as forming a four-sided pyramid, with all the four sides combining into pairs to form working hypothesis. The first and second sides taken together constitute 'the unitary or cellular aspect of Management'; and the first and third sides 'the mechanics of Management'. The third and fourth sides paired together form the 'group or organic aspect of Management'; and the second and fourth 'the dynamics of Management'. Within this simple framework, he has comprehended the essential theory of Management.

Urwick underlines the importance of Management in an adaptive society and points out that the 'core' of this new knowledge lies in 'a whole-hearted attempt to deal with every question arising in the conduct of business, or indeed any human system of co-operation, in the temper and spirit of the scientist and by using the tools of definition, analysis, measurement, experiment and proof'. The fundamental quality of this scientific outlook, he emphasises, is "Integrity". "What is important about the scientific outlook is not that those trained in it attain complete accuracy, but that, if they are well trained in it, they do not attain as complete an objectivity as is possible to man who is, by definition, imperfect. They seek the truth, whatever the consequences. They have that intellectual integrity, that respect for facts, which is the hallmark of the mind conditioned to do scientific work of the first order".

To give effect to policies determined by politicians is one of the major tasks of government and government itself is the 'oldest and most comprehensive form of social organization'. The process of administration in

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government is, therefore, closely comparable with business management. In a lucid and deep analysis of the pattern of government, Urwick explains the functions of operating and supervisory authority and their close similarity to those in a business enterprise. Higher standards of performance in the process of government are essential for the survival of democracy. That is only possible by a fuller application of scientific management and by clearly distinguishing between the executive and political processes. The chapters on Government and Management and Government and Leadership are a very useful contribution to an understanding of this problem.

One word more. A casual reader of the book is likely to get the superficial impression that it contains a general commentary on the principles of scientific management and their application in business and government. But the book in reality contains much more—it is throughout interspersed with many valuable ideas and observations. Take, for instance, the author's following remarks on 'co-ordination' and 'friction between senior executives' :—

"In any sizable organization there is bound to be a mass of detailed regulation affecting various grades of personnel, accommodation, training, research—in fact almost any specialized function. If every senior executive is to be "persuaded" in advance about every change in such regulations which may affect any of his subordinates, it seems to me that the high command of business enterprises is going to get all snarled up in pieces of paper, incurably desk-bound, or riding the roundabout of committees."

"I believe that all this demand for "persuasion" is a symptom, not of progress in human relations, but of lack of progress in organization. There has been too much specialization unaccompanied by any corresponding development in co-ordination. Enterprises are suffering from this lack of organizational balance, particularly at the top. As a consequence, friction develops between senior executives who try to escape from it by demanding more consultation in advance. *What they are really seeking is closer co-ordination, largely improved communication and leadership. But they confuse the symptoms of their trouble—inadequate attention to leadership and consequent friction with colleagues, with the imagined cure—more consultation, and therefore less time for leaders to lead and more opportunities for argument* (italics by the reviewer). Apostles of persuasion are usually opposed to improved machinery for co-ordination. They do not recognize that co-ordination is itself a function, which calls for specific provision in the organization particularly time and effort devoted to anticipating and avoiding friction in matters of detail. Consequently chiefs tend to become overwhelmed with an increasing burden of consultation and are compelled to leave subordinates to co-ordinate themselves. When this occurs co-ordination just does not happen. In its absence friction develops".

How far are the above observations equally true in the context of the Indian Administration today?—let our administrators and planners pause for a moment and think for themselves. The book deserves a careful reading and re-reading, no matter if Scientific Management "is not exact knowledge. But no more is our knowledge of politics, of war, or of economics."

—L. S. Chandrakant

## SELECTED GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

The following are some of the more important Central Government reports recently added to the Institute's Library.

### CABINET. O AND M DIVISION

Descriptive memoir of Ministry of Food & Agriculture (As on 1st April 1956) 77p.

Descriptive memoir of Ministry of Health, April 1956. 1957, 68p.

Descriptive memoir of Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, April 1956. 1957. [iii], 106p.

Financial and cognate powers delegated to ministries and heads of departments. 1957. 32p. 0.31 n.p.

Third annual report. (1956-57) 68p.

### EDUCATION, MINISTRY OF.

Report of the Public Services (Qualifications for Recruitment) Committee. 1957. 34p.

### HOME AFFAIRS, MINISTRY OF.

Administrative Vigilance Division.

Report for the year ending 31st March, 1957. 31p.

### INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING, MINISTRY OF. Publications Division.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands. July, 1957. 56p. Rs. 0.60.

The tenth year. Delhi, Aug. 15, 1957. 183p. Rs. 1.50.

### LABOUR, MINISTRY OF.

Annual report (for the year 1955-56) on the working of the Coal Mines Provident Fund and the Coalmines Bonus schemes. 1957. 46p.

Report of the study group on worker participation in management, 1957. [3], 117p. Rs. 0.87 n.p.

Report on the activities of the Coalmines Labour Welfare Fund 1955-56. 1957. v, 59p.

### PLANNING COMMISSION. Programme Evaluation Organisation.

Benchmark survey report: Kolhapur project. 1956. xii, 171p.

### PLANNING COMMISSION. Research Programmes Committee.

Small scale industry in Sivakasi and Sattur. 1957. ii, 61p.

### PLANNING COMMISSION. Scientific and Technical Manpower Division.

A preliminary study of training and employment of agricultural graduates in India. (Manpower Studies—4.) 54, 44p.

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